

THE LETTERS OF ARNULF OF LISIEUX

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BY

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PREFACE

IN producing this work I have drawn on the knowledge and experience of many people. Only a few of them can be mentioned here, but I am grateful to all.

It is fitting that Mr A. L. Poole should have suggested this subject as suitable for a D Phil thesis, for it is he whom I should like to thank first. His benevolent interest in my work and career makes me greatly indebted to him. Mr V. H. Galbraith was appointed my supervisor, and during our walks in the Parks I drew courage from his stimulating conversation, in which many fruitful ideas were born and many uncertainties resolved. On my tour to examine the various MSS I made numerous friends and received unfailing help from librarians. I wish to thank especially M. Lauer, *conservateur des manuscrits* at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, for his kindness in directing me to some articles which proved invaluable, and which I might have missed, and M. Marcel Bouteron, who turned from his Balzacian studies to revive memories of the Middle Ages and of Lisieux, and who lent me his unpublished thesis, written at the École des Chartes, on the MSS. of Arnulf's letters. Nor can I forget that carrier of MSS, Charles le Chauve, who made my studies at the Bibliothèque Nationale so memorable.

My thanks are also due for the financial support which made my research possible. My election to the Bryce Studentship enabled me to begin the work, and then election to an Oxford Senior Studentship, and to a Fereday Fellowship at St John's College, Oxford, allowed me to finish it. St. John's also made me a grant towards my travelling expenses.

When my thesis was almost finished, I heard from Miss Berthe Marti of Bryn Mawr University that she too was engaged on the same task. As her work was not quite so advanced as mine, she offered to give way. My acceptance of that offer puts me under a great obligation to Miss Marti, and left me with a responsibility which I would gladly have avoided.

When I came to revise my thesis for publication, I had the

advantage of criticism and advice from several scholars, for which I am most grateful. Mr W. A. Pantin made several suggestions, Professor F. M. Powicke advised me on the recasting of the Introduction, and very kindly read my new version, and Professor F. M. Stenton also was good enough to read my work and to offer me some valuable criticism.

Finally I wish to thank Mr. C R Cheney who has been most helpful while seeing this edition through the press.

LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE NOTES

MANUSCRIPTS

- A* Turin, Bibliotheca Nazionale, D, IV, 32 (Pasinus, no cxxix)
*C*³ Rome, Vatican, Vat lat 6024.
*D*² Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat 14763 (in its revised form)
E Oxford, Bodleian, Auct. F, 1, 8 (Summary catalogue no 2482).
*F*¹ Oxford, St John's College, 126
G Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat 13219
*H*¹ " " " lat 491
*H*² " " " lat 2596.
R Conflated text derived mainly from collections of 'Becket correspondence', given by Robertson in *Materials*.

PRINTED BOOKS

- Arnulf, *Invectiva* 'Invectiva in Girardum Engolismensem episcopum'
in *Libelli de hte* (Mon Germ Hist, 1897), iii,
81 seqq, ed J Dieterich
Arnulf, *Poems* in *Arnulfi Lexoviensis episcopi epistolae*, ed J A
Giles (Oxford, 1844, and reprinted in *M P L*,
vol cci)
Arnulf, *Sermons* *ibid*
Benedict . *Gesta regis Henrici secundi Benedicti abbatis*, ed
W Stubbs (Rolls Series, 1867).
Diceto 'Ymages historiaram' in *Radulphi de Diceto opera*
historica, ed. W Stubbs (Rolls Series, 1876)
D N B *Dictionary of National Biography*
E H R *English Historical Review*
Eyton R. W. Eyton, *Court, Household, and Innerary of*
King Henry II (London, 1878)
G C *Gallia christiana nova*, second edition by P. Piolin
(Paris, 1870-78).
Gerald of Wales *Givaldi Cambrensis opera*, ed. J. S Brewer, etc
(Rolls Series, 1861-91).

Gervase	<i>Historical works of Gervase of Canterbury</i> , ed W Stubbs (Rolls Series, 1879-80)
H F	<i>Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France</i> , ed M Bouquet, etc (Paris, 1737, etc)
H L	<i>Histoire littéraire de la France</i> , by the Benedictines of S Maur, etc (Paris, 1733, etc)
Materials	<i>Materials for the history of Thomas Becket</i> , ed J C Robertson and J B. Sheppard (Rolls Series, 1875-85)
M P L	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus - series latina</i> , publ by the Abbé J P Migne (Paris, 1844, etc)
Ordericus	<i>Orderici Vitalis historiae ecclesiasticae libri tredecim</i> , ed A le Prévost (Soc de l'hist de France, 1838-55)
Round, Calendar	<i>Calendar of documents preserved in France illustr history of Great Britain</i> , vol 1, 918-1206, ed J H Round (London, 1899)
Torigni	Robert of Torigni, 'Chronica' in <i>Chronicles of the reigns of Stephen</i> , etc, vol iv, ed R Howlett (Rolls Series, 1889)
V C H	<i>Victoria County History</i>

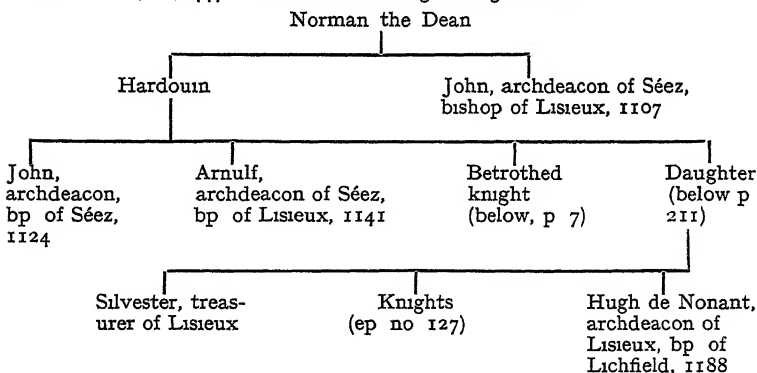
INTRODUCTION

§ 1 FAMILY, EARLY LIFE, AND CHARACTER

ARNULF of Lisieux, who takes his name from the Norman bishopric which he held for forty years, was born before 1109,¹ and was marked out for high position in Church and State from his earliest years. His father, Hardoun,² remained obscure ;³ but his

¹ At the end of 1178 he wrote, 'septuagesimum annum transgressus sum' (below, p 188). For convenience we calculate his age throughout as though he were born in 1105.

² Ordericus, iv, 447. We hazard this genealogical table.



³ Odolant-Desnos, *Mémoires historiques sur la ville d'Alençon* (1787), i, 259, and Maurey d'Orville, *Recherches hist. sur la ville, les évêques et le diocèse de Séez* (1829), p 121, call Hardoun *de Neuville*. The former gives an unhelpful reference to Ordericus as authority, and elsewhere traces a family of Neuville through the elder branch of the Clairays and Gilbert of Clare to a bastard son of Richard I, duke of Normandy (i, 288 n). Hardoun's son, John, bishop of Séez, is called *de Neuville* by the editors of *Gallia Christiana* and by other modern authorities. M de Maurey d'Orville says that this name appears under his painting in the collection of episcopal portraits which graces the palace of Séez, rebuilt in 1778 by M d'Argentré, and that there is a portrait

uncle John, the son of a certain Norman the Dean,¹ became bishop of Lisieux about the date of Arnulf's birth, and was a man of some importance. After an education in the households of Robert, Gerard, and Serlo, bishops of Séez at the end of the eleventh century, John had been made archdeacon of the church. With his bishop he had suffered the persecution of Robert de Bellême in the early years of the reign of Henry I of England, but he had found a happy refuge at the English court as one of Henry's chaplains and familiar clerks.² In 1107, when the king had supplanted his brother in Normandy, he rewarded John with the see of Lisieux, and the bishop maintained his services to the king, acting as head of the Norman exchequer.³

'When God deprived bishops of sons', said Pope Alexander III,⁴ 'the devil gave them nephews', and ecclesiastical dynasties progress by a knight's move. Moreover, the office of archdeacon was a preserve of near kinsmen, and became in this period almost a recognized step towards the episcopal dignity.⁵ The custom was not popular among independent clerks of the type of Peter of Blois and John of Salisbury, and their invective against archdeacons and *nepoti*—although, perhaps, partly conventional, partly humorous—is so violent, that Gerald of Wales, himself an archdeacon and tired of the aspersions, turned the medieval doubt as to the salvation of the archdeacon on to the bishop.⁶

Nevertheless the practice established the dynasty of John of Lisieux, and two of his nephews became archdeacons and bishops. John enjoyed both offices at the neighbouring church of Séez, and

of John in the château of Neuville, near Séez (*op cit*, p. 120). Historical traditions of this sort which can be traced back beyond the Revolution are always worthy of attention, and it is just possible that Hardouin was lord of Neuville. Certainly one son of Hardouin was betrothed to a girl of noble stock (see below, p. 8). Toponymics, however, in ecclesiastical dynasties do not necessarily imply feudal lordship.

¹ Or Norman, dean (of Séez). Ordericus, iv, 273.

² Ordericus, iv, 273-5.

³ Round, *E.H.R.*, xiv, 427.

⁴ Gerald of Wales ('*Gemma Ecclesiastica*'), ii, 304, 'Unde papa Alexander III factum hoc, ut fertur, verbum emisit "Filius episcopis Dominus abstulit, nepotes autem diabolus dedit".'

⁵ See examples given by Stubbs, *Diceto*, p. xxvii.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, ii, 359, 'Non dicimus episcopos non salvari, dicimus autem difficilius ipsos his diebus quam alios salvari'. Compare Caesarius of Heisterbach's story of the clerk at Paris who could believe all things except that any German bishop could ever be saved (*Dialogus miraculorum*, ed. J. Strange (Cologne, 1851), i, 99).

is found among the king's clerks when archdeacon,¹ while Arnulf, his younger brother, was archdeacon of Séez and bishop of Lisieux. Arnulf was equally indulgent to his own nephews.² Silvester was already treasurer of Lisieux, and Hugh de Nonant was to be archdeacon of the church until raised to the bishopric of Lichfield in 1188. With Arnulf, however, the policy had less happy results, and it is significant to find that his quarrel with these nephews was partly concerned with his refusal to advance their own *inpotuli*.³ Silvester was out of sympathy with Arnulf's policy during the quarrel between King Henry and Archbishop Becket,⁴ and they both repaid Arnulf's patronage with scant gratitude.⁵ Hugh de Nonant, a man of great promise and very dear to Arnulf, became in the end his uncle's bitterest opponent, and his turbulent, restless character brought him no peace, if many adventures at Lichfield.

Although it is unlikely that Arnulf's family had enjoyed much liberal instruction, they realized the value of education and legal training, and Arnulf was carefully prepared for his career. If our surmises are correct, his itinerary was one that could not be bettered even by John of Salisbury. Chartres, then at the height of its glory under the humanist Bernard, was chosen for the Arts course, Italy for law, and Paris for law and theology. It was a fashionable, but also a discriminating choice.

Arnulf's earliest instruction was obtained at the cathedral school of Séez,⁶ where his brother was archdeacon, and when John became bishop of the church in 1124 he probably conferred the vacant archdeaconry on his protégé, who would be about nineteen years old.⁷ Arnulf always wrote of John with the greatest respect,

¹ Round, *op cit*, p. 428

² Yet one of his charges against Gerard, bishop of Angoulême, was the advancement of his nephews, *Invektiva*, cap. 1.

³ See below, p. 201.

⁴ Silvester, treasurer of Lisieux, witnesses two charters of Becket, 1162-4 (Round, *Calendar*, p. 486), and is found in correspondence with John of Salisbury and Becket (*Materials*, v, 113 and 194). Hugh was one of Becket's *eruditi*, as was another of the archdeacons of Lisieux, Gilbert de Glanville (see Bosham's character sketches of them, *Materials*, II, 525-6). Arnulf probably sent them to Canterbury for their education, and Hugh made his peace with the king during the struggle (*ibid*).

⁵ See below, pp. 161, *seqq*.

⁶ See below, p. 57.

⁷ Deshayes says, on the authority of Herman, 'the historian of the diocese of Séez', p. 199, that Arnulf was treasurer of Bayeux for a short time before becoming archdeacon of Séez (Noel Deshayes, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des évêques de Lisieux* (1763), ed. in H. de Formeville, *Hist. de l'ancien évêché-comté de Lisieux* (Lisieux, 1873), II, 47).

and showed the most pious jealousy for his memory and reforms.¹

The history of Arnulf's education is obscure because his early correspondence is lost.² But about 1133 he describes himself as clerk of Geoffrey de Lèves, bishop of Chartres,³ to whom he dedicated his *Invectiva in Girardum Engolismensem episcopum*,⁴ and it is likely that he had continued his studies at Chartres after his preliminary education at Séz. The origin of Arnulf's connexion with Chartres is probably to be found in King Henry's grant in 1118 of some of the forfeited lands of Robert de Bellême, including Séz, to his nephew, Theobald IV of Blois, who transferred them to his brother, Stephen, the future king of England.⁵ Arnulf would probably go to Chartres when he was about sixteen years old, probably c. 1121, and stay there until c. 1127. His influence may be traced in the presence of Geoffrey de Lèves at the dedication of the cathedral church of Séz to St Gervase in 1126,⁶ and, if he accompanied his patron,⁷ it would have been a very interesting gathering. Besides King Henry and his retinue, Arnulf's uncle and brother, the two Johns, and the archbishop of Rouen, who performed the ceremony, there were also present Gerard, bishop of Angoulême, against whom Arnulf wrote his *Invectiva* seven years later, and whose conduct as legate he is forced to praise,⁸ and Ulger, bishop of Angers, Arnulf's scandalized opponent at the Lateran Council of 1139.

The associations with Chartres are very important in Arnulf's life, and it is remarkable how many signs of them survive. Arnold, abbot of Bonneval, and Philip, abbot of l'Aumône, were his friends,⁹ and, of the grandsons of William the Conqueror, at least Stephen, king of England, and Henry, bishop of Winchester,¹⁰ were well known to him, while, of the great-grandsons, Henry de Sully, abbot of Fécamp, Henry I of Champagne, Theobald V of Blois, and William of the White Hands, bishop of Chartres in 1165, appear intimately in his correspondence. Although one of the greatest

¹ See below, pp xxxiii, seqq

² The earliest is dated 1144

³ For Geoffrey, see *H L*, xiii, and A Clerval, *Les écoles de Chartres au Moyen-Âge* (Paris, 1895), pp 153-5

⁴ Biographical information in Arnulf's preface

⁵ Ordericus, iv, 323-4

⁶ *Ibid.*, iv, 471

⁷ He later mentions Henry's gift to the church on this occasion, see below,

p 56

⁸ Cap 2

⁹ See below, p 15

¹⁰ Arnulf wrote a laudatory poem on Henry (no 2).

families owing fealty to the French king, the house of Blois-Champagne responded more to Norman influence in this period, and Arnulf's career has the same dual features, *mutatis mutandis*, until Henry of Anjou became duke of Normandy.

It was not, then, at all remarkable that Arnulf and his kinsmen should support Stephen as king of England and duke of Normandy, although they were indebted to his predecessor.¹ Arnulf certainly had a very great respect for King Henry I,² but it was unfortunate that his case against the Empress Matilda at the Lateran Council of 1139 should have rested on the nullity of the king's marriage, and it deserved the scornful rebuke of the upright but quarrelsome Ulger, bishop of Angers.³

By the time he left Chartres Arnulf's general education would be finished, and he would be ready for professional instruction. In 1133 he is in Italy studying law, but whether canon law or civil law cannot be determined.⁴ During his sojourn beyond the Alps, however, he produced his first literary work, a tract to support

¹ Apart from having advanced the careers of members of the family, Henry had also granted revenues to the church of Sées in 1126 (Ordericus, iv, 471), and in 1131 (C. H. Haskins, *Norman Institutions* (Harvard, 1918), p. 302).

² See *Invectiva*, cap. 6, and below, p. 56. He also wrote a complimentary epitaph for his tomb (poem no. 9).

³ 'Mirum est, Ernulfe, qua fronte nunc persequeris mortuum quem vivum semper adorasti, sicut fratres tui, et cognatio universa, qui te et totum genus tuum erexit de stercore. Mirum est qua impudencia sic mentiris, nisi quia totum genus tuum loquax est et sublimari meruit vite maculis et arte et audacia mentiendi. His artibus apud Normannos estis insignes' (John of Salisbury, *Historia pontificalis*, ed. R. L. Poole (Oxford, 1927), p. 87). John, of course, may well have barbed the arrow.

⁴ In the preface to his *Invectiva*, which was written in the summer of 1133, Arnulf says, 'Sed quia me in Italiam desiderata diu Romanorum (al. Romanorum) legum studia deduxerunt, . . . The editors of the *Gallia Christiana*, xi, 774, interpret this as meaning that Arnulf went to Rome to study canon law. Deshayes, *op. cit.*, ii, 47, is vaguer but more comprehensive. He wrote, 'Il entreprit dès avant 1133, le voyage de Rome, pour se former à la science ecclésiastique, et puiser là, comme dans sa source, la connaissance des lois romaines'. These commentaries raise two points: (1) Did Arnulf go to Rome? and (2) What did he study in Italy?

(1) If Arnulf did not go to Italy before 1130 it is unlikely that he went to Rome, for it was usually in the possession of the anti-pope, and certainly a residence at Rome is not necessary to explain any familiarity with Pope Innocent II, who between 1130 and 1136 had his Italian head-quarters at Pisa. Nor does Arnulf reveal in his *Invectiva* any intimate knowledge of Roman events. Indeed, when we compare his vivid descriptions of a later schism, which he wrote in Normandy, with this work which was written in Italy, it is apparent that Arnulf had mainly inferior second-hand knowledge of the

Pope Innocent II in the schism, and to supplement the activities of Geoffrey de Lèves, who, as papal legate, was engaged in strife with the one influential French supporter of the anti-Pope Anacletus, Gerard, bishop of Angoulême. The tract takes the form of a violent and uncritical invective against this Gerard, but it secured notice beyond its merits, for both St. Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, and Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, wrote in later years of Arnulf to Pope Innocent in terms which show that they had this service in mind. St. Bernard calls him 'the uterine son of the Roman church',¹ and Peter the Venerable is even more emphatic.²

Eum [sc. Arnulfum], inquam, [ecclesia] elegit, eum consecrari fecit, non solum quia optimi et singularis inter suos testimonii persona est, non solum quia nobilis literaturae est, non solum quia prudentia et strenuitate vobis, ut credo, non incognitus est; sed quia vester specialius filius, et Romanae ecclesiae ab ipsa adolescentia familiaris alumnus est. Nam quis eum Romanae ecclesiae alumnum non agnovit, qui eum audivit? Quis eum a puero educatum in sinu Romanae ecclesiae non putavit, quicumque de ea loquentem advertit? Quis non eum vere vestrum, quantum ad spiritum spectat, filium iudicavit, qui ejus non tantum verba audire, sed quod nostro tempore perrarum est scripta legere potuit?

It is easy to suggest channels through which Arnulf might have approached St. Bernard. The abbot of Clairvaux was a friend of Geoffrey de Lèves, and praises him in his *De Consideratione*,³ and Arnulf, like Geoffrey and Theobald IV of Blois,⁴ was always an admirer of the Cistercian Order.⁵ But a letter of Peter the Venerable

great events of 1130-4. Dieterich, introduction to *Invectiva*, p. 83, makes the reasonable suggestion that Arnulf was at Bologna.

(2) 'Romanorum (or Romanarum) legum studia' is certainly a vague phrase, but Arnulf became an accomplished lawyer, and it was usual for archdeacons to spend some of their time engaged in practical study. The phrase must certainly be understood in a concrete sense, and, while it seems more appropriate to civil than to canon law, it was perhaps used to cover both. Unless, however, Arnulf almost completely neglected his archidiaconal duties, there seems to be hardly time for a full study of both kinds of law at this stage.

¹ *H F*, xv, 583.

² *Ibid.*, xv, 637.

³ Cap. iv, 5.

⁴ Theobald and Geoffrey founded the abbey of l'Aumône in 1121 (*G C.*, viii, *instr.* col. 419), and Arnulf knew the fourth abbot, Philip (see below, p. 15).

⁵ Arnulf was a benefactor of the monastery of Val-Richer near Lisieux, and had many ties with the abbey of Mortemer, where he wished to retire in 1166 (see below, p. xlv). He was a friend of Abbot Richard de Bloisville (ep. no. 117), and in MS Paris, BN, latin 2594, fo. 5, the sermon *In Annuntiatione Gloriosae Virginis Mariae* (no. 4) has the title, 'Expositio domini Arnulfi, Lexoviensis episcopi et doctoris clarissimi, directa ad A., cantorem Mortuimaris'. See also below, p. xxxii.

probably provides the clue to the whole question. On his return from the council which Pope Innocent assembled at Pisa at the end of May 1135 the abbot of Cluny wrote that many illustrious men had travelled with him to and from Pisa, and among them mentions John, bishop of Séz¹. From wherever Arnulf may have been in Italy at this time he would gladly have travelled to see his dear brother and bishop, and, as he was so violent a partisan in the schism, it is by no means unlikely that he too attended the council. There he could have met St. Bernard as well as Peter the Venerable, and, armed with the tract he had composed, he would find general favour. Arnulf was always an opportunist, and certainly at Pisa the stage was set for a triumph which was to be of considerable future profit to the archdeacon.

We have no exact knowledge of Arnulf's movements between 1133 and 1139, but in a letter to the future historian, Ralph de Diceto, written about 1160, he chides his friend, who was attending the Paris schools for the second time, for not visiting him and renewing their old friendship². From this it has been inferred that they had been fellow students on the earlier occasion, and, if so, the meeting cannot have been earlier than 1134, for Ralph was Arnulf's junior by at least fifteen years.³ But even if this construction is erroneous there is certainly every likelihood that Arnulf studied at Paris. It was a distinguished centre of learning conveniently placed for Normandy, and, moreover, there was a very close tie between Séz and the Austin convent of St Victor at

¹ Ep no 17, bk II, *M P L*, clxxxix, 208 *seqq*

² Ep no 26

³ Stubbs thought that he was born between 1120 and 1130 (Diceto p xx). It seems doubtful whether Stubbs' interpretation of this letter of Arnulf is correct, for he does not seem to have realized how much older Arnulf was than Ralph. If we take Stubbs' outside year for Ralph's birth, 1120, the earliest year in which we can imagine him at Paris is 1134, when he would be fourteen years old, and Arnulf would be twenty-nine, when Ralph would be at the beginning of his studies and Arnulf at the end. A much more likely reconstruction of their meeting is that Ralph had visited the church of Séz or Lisieux on a holiday from Paris with a letter of introduction, and Arnulf's vague words give as much support to this theory as to the other. It is also perhaps not without significance that Arnulf informs Ralph in 1160 of the death of 'their common friend' Ralph de Fleury, who is noticed as a canon of Lisieux in 1148. It is true that Arnulf's words of friendship are more suitable to an equal than to a protégé, but in 1160 both were quite mature, and the friendship had probably developed. Unless the date of Ralph's birth can be put even further back, I am inclined to hold that he visited Arnulf when bishop of Lisieux, i.e., after 1141.

Paris. Arnulf moved in a circle of men who were interested in the Augustinian Order, and who desired to reform their cathedral chapters by introducing canons-regular. His brother was successful in the reform at Séez,¹ and Arnulf as archdeacon was a member of the conventual chapter, but both his uncle, John of Lisieux, and his patron, Geoffrey de Lèves, had failed in their attempts.² Geoffrey, however, with Theobald IV of Blois reformed the church of Bourgmoien in this way in 1122,³ and John approved of the foundation of Ste. Barbe-en-Auge in 1128.⁴ The Austin canons were an order in which King Henry I of England was interested, as Arnulf notices,⁵ and the bishopric of Carlisle, founded by him in 1133, had its episcopal seat in the new priory church of St. Mary, which the first abbot, Adelulf, once prior of the Austin house of Nostell near Pontefract, reorganized by introducing regular canons.⁶ Adelulf was a man whom both John of Lisieux and John of Séez must have met at the court of Henry I, and he may have influenced them in their policy.

We find that Arnulf himself had many connexions with St. Victor. Abbot Achard, probably shortly after his election in 1155, wrote to Arnulf asking him to continue the good and kind services he had always given to the convent,⁷ and with Peter of Pavia and John of Naples, Victorines who rose to be cardinals, Arnulf maintained friendly relations.⁸ To St. Victor he retired, and at St. Victor he died, and his *obit* records the great devotion which for many long years he had shown to the house.⁹ He showed practical interest, too, by constantly opposing the secularization of the

¹ See below, pp 55-9; Torgny, p 145. John's instrument is printed, *G C*, xi, 160.

² Torgny, p 145 ³ *G C*, viii, 420-1

⁴ *Ibid*, xi, 858. ⁵ Below, p 56

⁶ Torgny, p 123; Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora* (Rolls Series), ii, 158, W Dugdale, *Monasticon* (ed J Caley, etc, 1846), vi (1), 91, *V C H. Cumberland*, vol ii

⁷ E Martène et U Durand, *Vet Scriptorum*. . . *Ampl Collectio* (Paris, 1729), vi, 231.

⁸ Epp nos 122, 125, etc; 23 and 84. For Peter's career and for the dispute over his connexion with St. Victor, see below, p 136, note a. Arnulf, however, may only have become acquainted with him in 1169, when Peter had an unfortunate experience in the Henry-Becket negotiations (*Materials*, vii, 78-82 and 198-202, and i, 73; Gervase, p 212). Peter had also been at Chartres.

⁹ Printed in L. V. Delisle's edition of the *Chronique de R. de Torgny* (Soc de l'hist. de Normandie, 1872-3), i, 107. There is no reference to any schooling.

church of Séez,¹ and he urged that the scandalous abbey of Grestain should be reformed as a house of regular canons. 'It is true', he writes,² 'that our province abounds with noble monasteries, but it has few convents of canons-regular, and they are very poor, so that it is often necessary to migrate to other districts when seeking to enter that order'.

It is possible that Arnulf went to Paris to study theology, for its schools were famous for that branch of learning, and theology usually attracted the more mature student. Some of Arnulf's writings reveal an interest in the subject,³ although in later years he was certainly more a man of affairs than a theologian. Or there may have been defects in his knowledge of law which he wished to remedy, and Paris would prove almost equally attractive for the study of canon law as of theology.

By 1139, however, his schooling was finished, and his connexion with the house of Blois introduced him into secular business. His family had recognized Stephen as king of England and duke of Normandy,⁴ and the king employed Arnulf in 1139 as an ambassador to plead his case for recognition as king of England before the pope at the Lateran Council.⁵ It is interesting to note that one of the opposing legation was Gilbert Foliot, whom the archdeacon must often have met at a later period of life when Gilbert was bishop of Hereford and afterwards bishop of London.

On the death of his uncle John in 1141 Arnulf was freely elected by the clergy and people of Lisieux as their bishop.⁶ At this time Geoffrey, count of Anjou, was conquering Normandy from Stephen for his wife Matilda, the daughter of King Henry I. John, bishop of Lisieux, had held the city against him, and had died shortly after Lisieux had been captured.⁷ Naturally the election of Arnulf,

¹ See below, pp xxxiii seqq

² Below, p 85

³ His sermon *in synodo* (no 3) and no 4 (see p xvi, n 5) are of a theological nature, and of his letters nos 5 and 12 should be noticed

⁴ See above, p xv and n 3.

⁵ The provenance and date of this council have aroused much speculation. J H Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, pp 250 seqq, and Mlle Joséphe Chartrou, *L'Anjou de 1109 à 1151* (Paris, 1928), Appendix II, discuss the problems in some detail, and Dr R L Poole, *Historia Pontificalis*, Appendix VI, settles the question decisively in favour of the General Council held at the Lateran in the spring of 1139.

⁶ Torigni, p 142, *Annales Uticensis* in Ordericus, v, 161, cf below, pp 181, 190, 198 and 209

⁷ *Ibid*, p 142, Ordericus, v, 132.

the nephew of his opponent, and the man who had denounced his wife's claims at the Lateran Council, was repugnant to Geoffrey, and he appealed to Rome against the election on the grounds that Arnulf had been consecrated without his consent.¹ But he was as unsuccessful in this case as in that of Séz in 1144. Pope Innocent had not forgotten his champion, and Arnulf several times remembers his support with gratitude.² Bernard of Clairvaux and Peter the Venerable also rallied to the cause of the bishop-elect,³ and Geoffrey had to content himself with occupying the temporalities for two years and three months, and exacting a fine at the end of that period of more than nine hundred livres.⁴ The reconciliation presumably took place at the end of 1143,⁵ but Arnulf was never able to free himself from the debts that arose out of these misfortunes.⁶

The character of this successful young man had few dispassionate assessors, and modern writers have been almost as divided in their views as were his contemporaries.⁷ Nevertheless, certain traits

¹ Letters of Bernard and Peter, *HF*, xv, 582 and 637, see below, p. 209

² Below, pp. 181, 190 and 198. Deshayes (*op. cit.*, II, 49), says that Arnulf went to Rome to prosecute his case. The only evidence for this appears to be the rhetoric of St. Bernard, 'Suscipe Lexoviensem episcopum . . . et remitte eum in benedictionibus dulcedinis' (*HF*, xv, 583)

³ See note 1

⁴ See below, p. 209

⁵ A charter granted by Arnulf in 1142 is dated by Stephen's reign (quoted by Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, p. 130, n. 23), which shows that the lack of recognition was mutual. Arnulf, however, dates a charter by Geoffrey's reign in September, 1143 (*ibid.*)

⁶ He uses his poverty and the necessity of his repairing the cathedral church and palace as excuses for not paying his personal respects to Pope Celestine on his election in 1143 (ep. no. 2)

⁷ Among his contemporaries Arnulf is most frequently noticed by John of Salisbury, an acknowledged enemy, and one who says not a single kind word. On the other hand we have lavish tributes from such men as St. Bernard, Peter the Venerable and Peter of Blois. For a consideration of the conflicting views of modern French authors see de Formeville, *Histoire*, II, 61, and G. A. Simon, *Recherches sur le séjour de S. Thomas Becket à Lisieux en 1170* (1926), p. 25. Among these the centre of the controversy has been whether or not Arnulf was sympathetic to Becket during his exile. This is an unfortunate point at which to assess the bishop's character, because passions which were aroused then are not yet dead. But for real lack of perspective one has to turn to English writers, where the interest in Arnulf has been almost entirely confined to the Becket episode, and where judgments appear to have become standardized. For them Arnulf is the intriguing bishop of Lisieux. A recent popular biography of Becket mentions Arnulf but once, and he appears as 'an unscrupulous churchman'.

appear clearly in his own writings, and prejudice can be offset by better perspective. He was certainly talented, for his professional abilities are manifest. His work as a lawyer is illustrated by reports of some of the cases in which he had been judge-delegate that survive in his correspondence.¹ He treats the problems with serenity and decision.² His value as an ambassador is proved by his repeated employment, and he was to be equally experienced in royal and diocesan administration.

His mind, as often with good lawyers and administrators, seems not to have been complex, and he gives little signs of originality or of greatness, but a certain obviousness is redeemed by clarity and common sense. Nor did repeated sickness make him introspective, and, after recovering from a bad attack of fever, he indulged in the old and robust witticisms which treat doctors as more dangerous than the malady.³ His wit is, indeed, rather ponderous, and probably went with a certain lack of humour.⁴ There is also a less amiable side to his character. There was a strain of arrogance in his make-up that made it easy to dislike him.⁵ There was, too, a note of pomposity⁶ which readily turned dislike into enmity. Ambition and the insatiable desire to be at the centre of things also played a large part in his life, and this urge to greatness, implanted in a mind talented but mediocre, explains the fact that although he was frequently in positions of importance he had always a sense of frustration. And so, when he became a royal courtier, he was rarely happy. He was jealous of the intimacy with the king enjoyed by the sycophants, and, although he had too much dignity to elbow continually among the place-seekers, he had not sufficient detachment to allow him to appreciate a position of independent importance.⁷ Indeed, his

¹ Epp nos 17, 65, 77-9, cf 64, 80, 91, 104 and 113

² See his interesting remarks on the duties of a judge, below, p 60.

³ Ep no 30

⁴ He relates a ribald joke of Gerard, bishop of Angoulême, and exclaims, 'O stupenda mentis obstinatio! o detestabilis impudentia linguae! o digna depositione responsio!' (*Invectiva*, cap 1)

⁵ John of Salisbury, *Hist Pont* (ed R. L. Poole), *passim*; cf pp 55-6, 'ambo [bishops of Lisieux and Langres] facundi, ambo sumptuosi, ambo (ut creditur) discordie incentores et expertes timoris Domini, sed consiliosior et magnanimior Lingonensis. Nec erat inter eos qui magnanimitate prior haberetur'

⁶ Consider the reception of his sermon at Tours (see below, p. xli).

⁷ See below, p xxx

judgment became warped, and often he speaks as though he would have preferred to advise the king on petty intimate details than on matters of great moment.¹ Hence, in the pursuit of that real power which always eluded him, he may sometimes have compromised his dignity, and by his restless activity given a handle to his detractors.²

But as a young man Arnulf had not realized the limitations which nature had set on his ambitions, and he sought to exploit his position to the full. He was always short of money, but left behind him a reputation for liberality and splendour.³ He had a good eye for a horse,⁴ and could be courted by the gift of a hawk.⁵ He was well known as a writer and as a poet, receiving the dedication of at least one work,⁶ and doubtless displayed the many graces which come from mixing with distinguished men and events.⁷ Good company was always a pleasure to him, and many types of men are found among his friends. Some, like Richard of Ilchester and Master David of London, were of a similar ambitious temper; others, like Arnold, abbot of Bonneval, were of a more restrained and cultured race. When he became bishop, Arnulf tried to make Lisieux a centre of learning and culture. We find him arranging a visit from his friend, the Abbot Arnold,⁸ and urgently requesting Ralph de Diceto to share the Easter feast with him, offering as an inducement the visit of William de Vere, a chaplain of Archbishop Theobald.⁹ He also gathered round him in the canonries of the cathedral a circle which he claimed was the most distinguished in the province.¹⁰ With the lack of diocesan records

¹ See below, p. 169

² John of Salisbury: 'mendosus ille et mendax', *Materials*, v, 105; 'Sed unum procul dubio scio, quia Lexoviensis, si venerit, nihil asserere verebitur; notus enim mihi est, et in talibus expertus sum fallacias ejus', *ibid.*, v, 101.

³ '[Arnulfus] gratia hospitalitatis munificentia celeberrimos famae titulos acquisivit', Peter of Blois, ep. no. 91, *MPL*, ccvii, 239; cf. note 7, and see below, p. 210.

⁴ Cf. epp. nos. 51 and 52

⁵ See below, p. 118

⁶ Hugh, archbishop of Rouen, *Praefatio ad Tractatum in Genesim, seu de sex dierum operibus*, 'Arnulpho Viro erudito Lexoviensi episcopo, filio suo carissimo, Hugo Rotomagensis sacerdos, spiritum sapientiae, lumen doctrinae' (G. Bessin, *Concilia Rotomagensis Provinciae* (Rouen, 1717), II, 28). This dedication is not mentioned in the *HL*. Arnulf wrote an epitaph for Hugh (poem no. 16).

⁷ Cf. the remark of John of Salisbury, 'Lexoviensis autem nitebatur de eloquentia et industria negociorum, de titulo liberalitatis et nugis curialibus, quas sub facetiarum colore uenustabat' (*Hist. Pont.*, p. 56).

⁸ Epp. nos. 11-13. ⁹ Ep. no. 26. ¹⁰ Below, p. 201

we are unable to assess the worthiness of his patronage; but it is hardly likely that his court had the distinction of some of his contemporaries, such as William of the White Hands,¹ although Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter, sent a boy to the cathedral school.² Yet, entwined in this magnificence is a thread of simplicity. Arnulf did not aspire to the asceticism of the Cistercians, although he admired them, but he was always attracted by monastic peace.

The defects and qualities of his mind can be seen in his artistic pursuits. In his literary works he subordinated the results of a sound and humane education to practical purposes. When criticizing the epic poet Ennodius he marvels at those who are impressed by obscurity of style, and he quotes with approval the dictum of Caesar that a rare and unusual word should be avoided as a danger.³ In his business letters he was true to his criticism. The style is simple and the argument is cogent. They are indeed models of clear exposition.⁴ In his other letters he is sometimes equally lucid; but when, as not seldom happens, he has nothing of importance to say, and merely wishes to convey pleasant sentiments, he tends to labour antitheses and play with rhetorical commonplaces. One polite letter is very like the next, and some favourite phrases recur frequently. A monotony of rhythm is also noticeable in the prose, and the *cursus*, which Arnulf uses in all his writings, is responsible for this, for, except in the most skilful hands, it encourages the mechanical employment of certain tricks of phrasing. But there is one common vice of twelfth-century writers which Arnulf does not share. Whereas a letter of Peter of Blois is sometimes as composite as *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, Arnulf save on the rarest of occasions quotes nothing but the Bible, and these citations are infrequent. The language of the lawyers, however, is woven into the fabric of his prose.⁵ He could turn out verses which observed most of the Ovidian canons, verses which, although pedestrian, brought him fame in both Normandy and France,⁶ and

¹ See John R. Williams, 'William of the White Hands and Men of Letters', in *Anniversary essays in medieval history presented to C. H. Haskins* (Harvard, 1929).

² See below, p. 137.

³ Ep. no. 27.

⁴ Cf. ep. no. 31, which is a masterly effort of accumulated argument.

⁵ Cf. the use of *redhibitoria* (p. 93), and the phrase in *anathematis commissis sententiam* (pp. 89 and 162). Giles quietly altered *commissis* to *incurrisse*. Arnulf provides almost the first example of the use of the word *apostoli* in the sense of letters of appeal (below, p. 23).

⁶ Poem no. 14, and see F. J. E. Raby, *History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1934), II, 43 seqq.

his literary criticism is sensible and straight-forward.¹ Like many 'Lexoviens' he was an eloquent speaker,² perhaps a trifle verbose,³ but he himself observed that the language of oration was not the language of prose.⁴

Arnulf was also a great builder, and the magnificence of his projects in his later years caused him much financial embarrassment. His greatest achievement was the rebuilding of his cathedral church and palace, on which he employed French architects,⁵ and, at the same time as these were going up, he had a chapel constructed for the hospital at Lisieux.⁶ His plans for retirement too were accompanied by building operations, and both at Mortemer⁷ and at St. Victor, Paris,⁸ suitable lodgings were prepared.

Thus, in Arnulf's character and in his actions, we may, perhaps, recognize the administrative traditions of the Normans widening in a more scholarly age, and see this nephew and brother of royal exchequer clerks revealing casually artistic tastes which made him indeed proud enough to collect his letters, but not sufficiently vain to assume a pretentious style.

With such qualities and such a training he was not likely to be overawed by his election to the familiar bishopric of Lisieux. Writing to the pope some thirty-seven years after his election, when difficulties were forcing him to leave his see, Arnulf said that at the beginning of his episcopacy he sought to combine sanctity and worldly magnificence, and hoped that each would contribute to his glory; but, he added, the world, much business and human frailty had made a mockery of resolution, and only in the contemplative life was to be found salvation.⁹ This echo of the 95th Psalm, which he repeats frequently in his correspondence,¹⁰ was to form the pattern of his life. To him the full man enjoyed the

¹ Ep no 27

² 'vir admodum callidus, eloquens, litteratus', Torgni, p 142.

'Affuit Arnulfus antistes Lexoviensis

Ingeniu virtus eloqui nitor',

(Stephen de Rouen, *Draco Normannicus*, in *Chronicles of . . . Stephen*, etc. (Rolls Series, 1885), II, 715), see p xxi note 5, and p xxii note 7. For the reputation of 'Lexoviens', see John of Salisbury, ep no. 60, *M P L*, cxcix,

43 *seqq*

³ See below, p xli

⁴ Introduction to his sermons, p 2

⁵ See below, p xlvii, *seqq*

⁶ Simon, *Recherches*, quoting Ch Vasseur, *Notice historique et archéologique sur la Maison-Dieu et les Mathurins de Lisieux* (1861).

⁷ See below, p xlv

⁸ See below, p lx

⁹ Below, p. 181

¹⁰ Pp 56, 63, 112 and 181.

spoils of both worlds, and such ambition was to be expected in a man whose relatives had been both bishops and royal officials.

Arnulf was not, however, to obtain the fullness of the one nor the plenitude of the other. He was to live through difficult times when compromise was necessary for existence. He was sixty years old when Becket went into exile, and the anxieties and conflicting loyalties of that period chastened the active, almost intemperate spirit of his youth and manhood. But not even circumspection could save him from ruin. Yet, although worldly magnificence crumbled in royal disgrace, he almost achieved the sanctity he equally coveted, for he died in retirement at St. Victor, Paris. He did not regret his moderate success.

Hitherto I have lived for my flesh [he wrote to Richard of Ilchester],¹ too careless of the salvation of my soul, yet with the intention and the desire of consecrating at least my last years to the Lord. Divine mercy has sustained my resolution to a seasonable time, and has brought me there, enfeebled indeed with old age, but whole in body and limb and with full vigour of mind, since I always confessed to the Lord in this hope, and was refreshed in His mercy.

§ 2. ARNULF AND THE SECOND CRUSADE

In the period after his election, when he was out of favour with the Angevins, Arnulf seems to have turned to the French king as an outlet for his political ambitions, and he was one of those who took the Cross at Vézelay in 1146.² He took a leading part in the second Crusade, but his behaviour scandalized John of Salisbury, who gives a racy but thoroughly prejudiced account in his *Historia Pontificalis*.

Arnulf and Godfrey, bishop of Langres, who had preached the Crusade previous to the Council of Vézelay,³ were in the beginning given by the pope legate authority over the Anglo-Norman and French contingents respectively.⁴ Each was empowered to choose a suitable man from his diocese to help him with the task, and Arnulf chose William, prior of Ste. Barbe, who, with rather unseemly trepidation, obtained his release from the pope at Auxerre in the summer of 1147, alleging the necessity of his house.⁵ However,

¹ Below, p. 217

² Diceto, i, 257. Suger, *De glorioso rege Ludovico, Ludovici filio*, ed A. Molinier (Coll. des textes pour servir à l'étude . . . d'histoire, 1887), p. 158.

³ Odo de Deuil, *De Ludovici VII itinere*, (M P L., clxxxv), col. 1207.

⁴ See p. xxvi note 3.

⁵ Anon. Chronicle of Ste. Barbe, in *HF*, xiv, 502. Jaffé-Loewenfeld, *Regesta*. The bishops were not commissioned on the nomination of Louis VII,

Arnulf left Rotrou, bishop of Évreux and later archbishop of Rouen, as guardian of the see in his absence,¹ and proceeded with an Anglo-Norman contingent to meet Louis and the French army at Worms.²

Meanwhile the two episcopal legates were subordinated to, or superseded by the Cardinals Theodwin, bishop of Porto, and Guy, cardinal-priest of St Chrysogonus.³ These men had not the calibre of leaders. John of Salisbury describes Guy as a scholarly and retiring man, delighting in learned disputations, knowing the French language only slightly, and being most unsuitable for the job, whereas Theodwin, a German, was considered a barbarian by the French for his habits and language.⁴ The result was that Arnulf and Godfrey entered into the management of the expedition with typical officiousness, and John notes with acerbity their usurpation of the leadership, and claims that from the power of absolution they wrested from the legates they obtained more money than they spent. 'Exercitui et publice rei Christianorum rarus aut nullus fuit huius perniciosior', he says.⁵

Yet even this hostile writer admits that the arrangement would have been of profit if only the two bishops had worked together for the cause of God. But, unfortunately, each was of the same harsh fibre, and they engaged in such a continual and stormy rivalry that John finds it difficult to decide which was the more conciliatory.⁶ According to him, Godfrey claimed the principal power because he had been prior of Clairvaux; but Arnulf sought to rival him with his eloquence, business ability, liberality and

and the deputies mentioned were for the Crusade and not for the diocese, as the next paragraph in the chronicle shows

¹ Anon Chronicle of Ste Barbe, *loc cit*, document printed by Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, p. 322

² Odo, *op cit*, col 1210

³ John gives the bishops no official standing. The chronicle of the monastery of Ste. Barbe in the diocese of Lisieux (col 502) states explicitly that Arnulf and Godfrey were given legatine authority by the pope, and Odo de Deuil (*op cit*, *passim*), while mentioning the activities of these two bishops has no reference to the cardinals. On the other hand, William of Tyre (*Hist. Rev. in Part. Trans. Gest.*, (MPL, cci) cap xvii, 1) supports John of Salisbury in his naming of one of the genuine legates, but even he gives the names of Arnulf and Godfrey before that of Guy. The only reference that Arnulf makes to his Crusading adventure, is that he went unwillingly by the pope's order (below, p 210); but this was written much later, and was part of a piece of special pleading

⁴ *Hist. Pont.*, pp 55-6

⁵ See above, p xxi, n 5

intrigue, and said of his more impetuous colleague that he resembled Cyprian wine that required water to allay its strength¹

It was the bishop of Langres who was in favour of taking Constantinople,² and it is likely that Arnulf opposed the plan. Sometimes a division of function avoided rivalry, and when Louis was trying to make amends for the pillaging riot on Constantinople, Godfrey was appointed to receive back the stolen goods, and Arnulf was sent on a pacifying legation to the emperor³. Arnulf was present at the council of Acre held in May 1148 that decided on the siege of Damascus,⁴ but he was anxious to return,⁵ and he seems to have left in the partial exodus after the failure of the siege,⁶ for he reappeared in France with letters to Suger, abbot of St. Denis and regent, authorizing the repayment of a loan made to the king, and the grant of sixty Aurelian bushels of the king's best Aurelian wine.⁶

There is so much bitterness in John of Salisbury's account that it is difficult to assess Arnulf's contribution to the Crusade. It was certainly unfortunate that two bishops of such similar temper were associated together. Each would have been excellent by himself; but together they gave rise to calumny, and were probably as ineffective in their way as the shadowy and unenterprising legates.

§ 3. ARNULF AND THE ANGEVINS

The Crusade was not the end of Arnulf's association with the French court, and, some months after Louis' return from the expedition in 1149, the bishop of Lisieux was employed as ambassador by Suger, the chief minister of the king, with instructions to attempt the reconciliation of Louis and the Angevins, war being imminent.⁷

¹ *Op cit*, p 56; see above, p xxii, n. 7. Godfrey was held a saint in his order (C. Henriquez, *Menologium Cisteriense* (Antwerp, 1630), p 237)

² Odo, *op cit*, col 1223

³ William of Tyre, *Historia* (M P L, vol cci), xvii, 1

⁴ He supported Theodoric, count of Flanders, who was in favour of a short campaign. Godfrey opposed these counsels. See John of Salisbury, *op cit*, p. 56

⁵ Arnulf is found in Normandy in 1148 (Léchaudé d'Anisy, *Les Anciennes Abbayes de Normandie* (1834), 1, 94)

⁶ Letters in *H F*, xv, 500 and 501

⁷ The chronology of this period is complicated because of the paucity of materials, and because there has been much dispute over the date of the cession of the duchy of Normandy by Geoffrey to Henry. See A. Luchaire

He visited the empress and her son Henry, the future king of England, in Normandy, and later Geoffrey in Anjou.¹ The negotiations were not immediately successful, but Arnulf found the way prepared for a personal reconciliation with the Angevins. His work, indeed, obtained general approbation. Geoffrey wrote of him as his friend.² The empress and Henry seem to have received him well, and Suger appealed to his testimony when he wrote, 'Novit enim Luxoviensis episcopus quod fideliter in negotio vestro laboravimus et elaboramus'³

This was a turning point in Arnulf's life. The favourable reception that he received from the Angevins, the removal of Geoffrey from direct interest in Normandy, and the war which demanded a definition of his political allegiance, turned him from his nine years' dalliance with France to an espousal of the cause of the young Henry. The duke summoned his barons to assemble at Lisieux on 14 September 1151 for the invasion of England⁴—a sure indication that the bishop had returned to the fold, and the death of Geoffrey before that event removed the last obstacle to their harmonious co-operation. In this same period Arnulf is witnessing Henry's charters,⁵ and his long service under the Angevin duke and king had begun.

Arnulf's chances of a spectacular career in the Church were by now not very great. The archbishoprics of Rouen, Canterbury and York, and perhaps the bishopric of London were open to him by translation, and he may have hoped for one of them, although the ties which bound him to Lisieux were strong. But the very acceptance of a bishopric severely curtailed ambition, for then the

(' Sur la chronologie des documents et des faits relatifs à l'histoire de Louis VII pendant l'année 1150 ' in *Ann. de la Fac. des Lettres de Bordeaux*, 1882) and J. Chartrou (*L'Anjou de 1109 à 1151*), who take divergent views of the date of the cession. Dr R. L. Poole, disagreeing with both, argues for *ante* April 1149 (*E.H.R.*, xli, 596), and this date is supported by Arnulf's letter no. 4. Writing to Robert de Chesney, the newly-elected bishop of Lincoln, Arnulf congratulates him on his honour, and asks him to favour the cause of his duke, who ought to have the rule of England by hereditary right. As Robert became bishop at the end of 1148, the letter must have been written next year at the time of Henry's invasion, and Arnulf would make no mistake about the title.

¹ Suger to Geoffrey and Matilda, *H.F.*, xv, 520; Arnulf, ep. no. 6; Geoffrey to Suger, *H.F.*, xv, 521.

² Geoffrey to Suger, *loc. cit.* ³ *H.F.*, xv, 522 ⁴ Tongni, p. 162

⁵ *Recueil des actes de Henri II, roi d'Angleterre*, ed. L. Delisle and E. Berger (Paris, 1909-16), i, nos. xi and xiv.

papal curia rarely extensively employed persons whose duties obviously lay elsewhere. Arnulf must have realized the limitations of his position during the Crusade, and felt that a political career would offer him greater scope. The reconciliation with the Angevins made this possible, for his efforts were handicapped until he could follow his natural lord. He was the sort of man that the youthful Henry thought wise to gather round him, and from 1151 he was in frequent attendance on the duke in Normandy. He heads the lists of witnesses to Henry's charters and the list of justices in his *curia*, and so restores the office of justiciar which his uncle had held under the first Henry, a post which Geoffrey had allowed to lapse.¹ Material advantages as well as honour accrued to Arnulf from the Angevin connexion. Between 1151 and 1154 Henry granted him the right of fair at Nonant and at Touques,² and shortly after he became king of England, Henry rewarded the bishop by the gift of the valuable chapelry of Bosham, the revenues of which Arnulf enjoyed for twenty-two years.³

Arnulf crossed to England with Henry for the coronation in December 1154,⁴ but returned to Normandy in the spring to hold assizes with Robert de Neufbourg.⁵ At the end of his episcopate Arnulf claimed more than once that since 1155 his position with the king had been weakened by delators.⁶ Frequently he repeats stereotyped but nevertheless bitter denunciations of the royal court,

¹ Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, p. 163, Delisle-Berger, *op. cit.*, 1, 43-4 etc.

² Confirmation of Henry's charter by Richard I, dated 20 June 1189, printed by H. de Formeville, *Histoire*, 1, cccxxxv.

³ See below, p. liv.

⁴ Torigni, p. 182.

⁵ Eyton, *Itinerary*, Torigni, p. 333. It is not clear whether Arnulf remained in Normandy until the king's return in January 1156. A later writer, Matthew Paris, states that he accompanied Rotrou of Évreux, William of Le Mans, and Robert, abbot of St. Albans, on a mission to the pope (*Gesta Abbatum* (Rolls Series), 1, 126). Adrian IV, however, writing about the legation, substitutes G., dean of St. Lô, for Arnulf's name (S. Loewenfeld, *Epistolae Pontificum Romanorum ineditae* (Leipzig, 1885), p. 124). The legation was principally concerned with Henry's proposed conquest of Ireland (Matthew Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, (Rolls Series), 11, 210), which had been discussed at Winchester on 29 September 1155 (Torigni, p. 186), but Adrian's bull shows that they also dealt with the election to the church of Angers, and the composition of the legation may have varied according to the business. We know that Arnulf visited Pope Adrian once (epp. nos. 14-15), but we prefer to ascribe that journey to 1157-9 (see below, p. xxxi), and this visit must be left in doubt.

⁶ Below, pp. 167, 169, 173 and 217, cf. pp. 67 and 125.

in which he describes the pettiness and jealousy of the courtiers ;¹ and certainly the pleasure he obtained from consorting with the Angevins soon turned sour. In later years his great complaint was that although his counsel was always sought on matters of great importance, he soon lost his place in the intimate circle of the king.² And this was Arnulf's tragedy. He had imagined when he found himself of use to Henry that his great opportunity had arrived. But he was much older than the king, and no match for younger courtiers, such as Thomas Becket, to whom the king gave his heart. With pitiful insistence Arnulf made use of every crisis to further his desire, but each time he was forced to realize that although his services were valued and were often used, he could not become the boon companion of the king. This constant frustration made his final disgrace in 1175 most bitter. He had devoted twenty-five years, the best period of his life, to royal business, and those years had been barren, uneasy as they passed, and leading in the end to an old age of sadness and disillusionment, in which he received no token of royal regard, but rather contumely.

As early as 1155 Arnulf felt the first cooling of the royal affection, and in a letter to Becket, the new chancellor, which seems to have been written just after Arnulf had left the king, he speaks already of the youth's favour that cannot be kept without constant succour,³ and he was to find himself slowly moved from his position with Henry until the events which attended Becket's elevation to the primacy altered the grouping of forces.

However, Arnulf kept the royal favour for at least two more years. Henry returned to Normandy in January 1156, and Arnulf seems frequently to have been at court or transacting the king's business.⁴ In 1157 he is still acting with Robert de Neufbourg, but in the same year Rotrou, bishop of Évreux, appears to have superseded Arnulf as justiciar.⁵ The element of compulsion in the retirement is not clear. Arnulf tells us that he was in high favour with the king in 1160, and that he left the royal service to deal with his quarrel with his nephew, Silvester, and Froger of Séez,⁶

¹ Below, pp 14, 67, 173, 186 and 216 ² Below, p 169 ³ Below, p 14.

⁴ He accompanied Henry on his progress through Aquitaine, and was at Bordeaux at Christmas (Dehlsle-Berger, *op cit*, II, 431; Anon Chron in *H F*, XII, 121). His name also appears as witness in many charters (Dehlsle-Berger, *op. cit*).

⁵ Haskins, *op cit*, pp 165-6

⁶ Below, pp 54-5

a policy which may well have been incompatible with royal intimacy. But in 1157 began the struggle for the succession to Sééz in which Arnulf was opposed to the royal nominee,¹ and perhaps the true origin of the estrangement is to be found there. Even if there was spasmodic coolness between the king and the bishop, ecclesiastical matters arose which interested Arnulf at this time. Besides the affairs of Sééz, the papal schism of 1159 occupied his attention,² and then his health suffered one of those attacks which later became endemic.³

To the period between Henry's return to England and Arnulf's reappearance at court in 1159 is ascribed his visit to Rome where he intrigued against John of Salisbury, and on his return so kindled Henry's indignation against him that Archbishop Theobald's clerk was able to find the leisure to write his *Polycraticus* and *Metalogicon*.⁴ By this action, whether he went to Rome or not, he raised an important hostile literary witness, and John, who says of him, 'Episcopus Lexoviensis malleus iniquitatis est ad conterendam ecclesiam Dei',⁵ henceforth never described him but in an unfavourable way. The evidence for the journey is by no means conclusive;⁶ but we know that Arnulf visited Pope Adrian once, for on his return he wrote him a letter describing the adventures on the way with the youth whom Adrian had entrusted to him,⁷ and whose conduct at the court of Henry II, where he was learning knightly duties, he praises in a letter written at the same time to the chancellor, Roland Bandinelli, afterwards Pope Alexander III.⁸ Unfortunately these letters cannot be placed exactly; but their manuscript position favours this date, and we can give some credence to Arnulf's visit at this time.

¹ See below, p xxxv. In reference to a matter which arose out of the struggle he appears to call Henry a tyrant (below, p 21).

² See below, p xl. ³ See below, p 50, cf pp 16, 94, 165, etc.

⁴ R. L. Poole, 'The Early Correspondence of John of Salisbury' in *Studies in chronology and history* (Oxford, 1934), p 278, and C. J. Webb, *John of Salisbury* (London, 1932), pp 18 and 103.

⁵ Ep no 121, *Materials*, v, 105, cf ep no 108.

⁶ The only evidence that Arnulf visited the papal court and intrigued against John on his return is Peter of Celle's statement that a person *de curia*, who was with him, had related the story (ep no 67; *M.P.L.*, ccii, 513), and later John blames Arnulf for it (*loc cit.*). The absence of the bishop from court also inclines Dr. Poole to think that he went to Rome, but his absence can be explained in many ways.

⁷ Ep. no. 14. ⁸ Ep. no. 15.

Although the events and politics of these years are obscure, Arnulf was certainly in royal disgrace by 1164.¹ But whatever may have been the reason for the discord, the quarrel between Henry and Becket that was gathering momentum offered him a stage suitable for his talents and an opportunity for reconciliation. With typical flair he crossed to England after the quarrel over the *avitae consuetudines*, and regained the favour of the king by offering shrewd advice against the archbishop. After striving night and day in a vain attempt to reconcile the adversaries,² he counselled Henry to form a party among the bishops against the primate,¹ and henceforth played a distinguished but hardly an intimate part in the political and ecclesiastical history of the next ten years.

§ 4 ARNULF AND THE CHURCH

The judgments on Arnulf for the part he took in the Becket controversy are usually unfavourable.³ This is mainly a reflection of the bias of John of Salisbury, and Arnulf's attitude can be more easily understood if put into perspective. For in 1164 Arnulf was an old man, as age was computed then, and although age sometimes has a moderating influence, it is unusual to find a man of sixty going back on the principles of a lifetime.

Arnulf was born into a family of curial bishops, but one interested in reform, and it is not, perhaps, a mere accident of the political situation that his early training was ecclesiastical, and that he was little involved in secular affairs until his forty-fourth year. He showed a lifelong interest in the reformed monastic orders. When he was a young man and still an archdeacon, he wrote:

Sed ego, si qua fides est, favorem principum populi que, quos adhuc secularis tenet affectio compeditos, in tam divino negotio⁴ negligenter attendo. Horum in hoc mihi consensus precipuus est: horum me movet, motum trahit, tractum tenet auctoritas, quibus *datum est nosse mysterium regni Dei*,⁵ quorum in *celis* esse jam ex parte *conversatio* perhibetur.⁶ Quales revera sunt, qui Carthusiae perpetuas nives inhabitant, et qui a Cisterciensi vel Cluniacensi monasterio profuentes lucis suae radios undique diffuderunt.¹ Hi enim a manibus suis et animo saniore consilio terrea removens, aspera veste, cibo cum raro tum ando, vigilis multisque laboribus corpus macerant, ad eam

¹ Anon I, *Materials*, iv, 29, William of Canterbury, *ibid.*, i, 14.

² 'sollicite laboravit die ac nocte ut pax fieret inter regem et archiepiscopum, sed ad plenum fieri non potuit' *Chronica Rogeri de Hovedene* (Rolls Series, 1868-71), i, 220-1.

³ See above, p. xx, n. 7. ⁴ The papal schism of 1130.

⁵ Marc, iv, 11. ⁶ Philp, iii, 20.

tantum retributionem totis animi viribus anhelantes, quam diligentibus se gratiam repromisit Horum sancta conversatio, sermo sapiens, in divinis discretio perspicax, quam denique nulla nubes terrenae densitatis obfuscet ¹

These feelings were not the ephemeral enthusiasm of youth. The contemplative life always called to him from his bishopric. He asked Pope Eugenius for permission to retire within a dozen years of his election to Lisieux, and he approached Pope Adrian before half of his long tenure of the see was over, but both denied him the release ²

Although unable to follow a monastic life, Arnulf showed no indifference to his active ecclesiastical career. He was freely elected to the see in the face of secular opposition, and was proud of it ³ He had also a high view of the position of a bishop. In his sermon at the council of Tours, speaking of the freedom of the Church, he said

Ad hoc scilicet omnem nos convenit diligentiam adhibere, omnem propter hoc sustinere vexationem, omne periculum experiri Hoc enim speciale debitum nostrae professionis est Episcopi sumus Ad hoc sacramentis ecclesiasticis sanctificari volumus, ditari beneficiis, honoribus illustrari Ex ea etiam causa hic primas obtinemus in concilio cathedras, primos in coenis recubitus, salutationes in foro Ex eadem causa populorum nobis multitudines inclinantur, ut de manu nostra partem aliquam commissae nobis benedictionis accipiant ⁴

Moreover, his repeated employment by the papacy as judge-delegate, implicated him fully in the ecclesiastical system. It marks him as a man specially trusted by the Roman pontiffs, and the very nature of the business brought him into close contact with the papacy ⁵

Arnulf's interest in ecclesiastical matters is illustrated by his relations with the church of Sééz. The death of his brother John, bishop of Sééz, in 1144, caused the notorious dispute between Geoffrey, count of Anjou, and the bishop-elect, Gerard Arnulf was very active in this case, and it shows that his opposition to the interference of the lay power in episcopal elections was not due simply to self-interest

¹ *Invectiva*, cap 8

² See below, p 181

³ See below, pp 181, 190, 198 and 209 ⁴ *Sermones*, pp 6-7

⁵ Five papal answers to Arnulf on questions of law appear in the appendix to the Lateran Council of 1179, three of which appear to have been taken from the same letter (Appendix, pars vii, cap xvi, pars xxii, capp v and vi, pars xxv, cap v, pars xlv, cap x, in J D Mansi, *Sacr conciliorum nova et ampl collectio*, xxii, 302, 361, 366 and 409)

After the death of the bishop,¹ a party in the church, apparently hostile to its traditions, proceeded to a hasty election of a certain Gerard before the arrival of the archdeacons and the more venerable persons of the bishopric, and of Arnulf and the bishop of Évreux, who had been invited to be present. Defrauded of participation, Arnulf visited under the archbishop's mandate together with Laurence, archdeacon of Rouen, and they reported that many had resisted the election, and that others had agreed through ignorance or simplicity. Appeals were made to the pope, and Alberic, cardinal-bishop of Ostia, was entrusted with the case.²

Meanwhile another opponent intervened. Geoffrey, count of Anjou, enraged because the licence for election had not been sought, set his officers on the bishop, and Gerard was so ill-treated that Gerald of Wales always couples this and the martyrdom of St. Thomas as the greatest crimes of the Angevins.³ The intervention of Geoffrey must have considerably embarrassed Arnulf's party, for, much as they disliked Gerard, they could not appear to be giving way to the brutality of the count. At Easter, however, Pope Eugenius III reconciled Geoffrey to Gerard at Paris,⁴ and the count, disavowing the actions of his servants, consented to their deliverance to the court-Christian.⁵

The way was now clear for the clerical opponents of Gerard, and Arnulf wrote a diplomatic letter to the pope, saying that the liberty of the Church should not redound to its injury, and suggesting that now the battle with Geoffrey had been won, this unsuitable person could be expelled.⁵ Arnulf also stirred up Bernard of Clairvaux to write to the pope, and, in a letter of typical violence, the abbot says that Eugenius should not be deceived by the guile of Gerard, and he comments with approval on the attempt that Arnulf was making to maintain the reforms of his brother.⁶ Arnulf may even have followed Gerard to Rome, and combated in person the intrigues of the fugitive from his accusers and judges.⁷ But Geoffrey's intervention had fogged the issue, and Gerard remained in possession of the see.

¹ Arnulf took care of the funeral arrangements (below, p. 4).

² Letter of Hugh, archbishop of Rouen, to Alberic, *H.F.*, xv, 696.

³ Gerald of Wales ('*Liber de Princ. Instruc.*'), viii, 160, 301 and 309.

⁴ *Diceto*, i, 256. ⁵ Arnulf, ep no 3 ⁶ *H.F.*, xv, 603

⁷ This may perhaps be inferred from St Bernard's contrast between those accusers whose poverty prevented them from following Gerard out of the country and Arnulf who spared neither purse nor body (*H.F.*, xv, 603).

This was not the only time that Arnulf interfered in the affairs of Séez. On the death of Gerard in 1157, Arnulf's friend Achard, abbot of St. Victor, Paris, was elected as bishop and secured the approval of Pope Adrian IV¹. This was a natural choice, for Arnulf's brother had drawn on St. Victor in creating a conventual chapter at Séez. But the Angevins were getting stronger, and in 1159 Henry intruded Froger, his almoner, and a former *domesticus* of Arnulf, and Achard had to be content with the bishopric of Avranches in 1161. To increase the injury, Froger, within two years of his appointment, had fulfilled the aspirations of his predecessor by upsetting the conventual constitution of the church and making his nephew John archdeacon.²

Arnulf might have warned Froger against the danger of nephews and seculars, for he was struggling with his own nephew, Silvester, treasurer of Lisieux, and with his canons at the time, and Froger's nephew John was helping them.³ But his anger at the disturbance of his brother's settlement took an expostulatory form, and he wrote to Pope Alexander explaining the position and the wickedness of the bishop,⁴ and later, when Alexander had agreed to allow one archdeacon to be a secular, he wrote a long and outspoken letter, scolding the pope for disturbing the provisions of his predecessors and allowing such a reprehensible innovation.⁵

Arnulf showed the same reforming activity in his diocese. His interest in regular canons and the reformed monks went together with a prejudice against Benedictines,⁶ and he seems to have had cause for complaint.⁷ But besides irregularities in the behaviour of the monks there was another problem which occupied bishops

'Restat proinde nihil aliud suspicandum, quam fugisse hominem subdolum [sc Gerardum] accusantium multitudinem, qui extra patriam eum minime prae inopia sequi possent. Gratias agimus domino Lexoviensi, qui zelo domus Domini tactus, nec marsupio pepercit, nec corpori'.

¹ So says Becket, *Materials*, vii, 243. Gams, *Series episcoporum*, gives 1157 for the date of Froger's appointment, possibly following the *Annales Uticenses* (Ordericus, v, 162), although the *cui successit* is quite ambiguous. Togni, p. 205, and his editor, Howlett, support 1159.

² Epp nos 33 and 34. This John seems to have been a royal clerk about 1166 (Eyton).

³ See below, p. lvi.

⁴ Ep no 34.

⁵ Ep no 35.

⁶ Cf. Gerald of Wales' strictures, i, 298 *seqq* ('Symbolum Electorum') and i, 103 ('De Rebus a se Gestis').

⁷ See the scandalous conditions at Grestain, epp nos 45-9.

at this time, the jurisdiction of monastic houses over parishes¹ This jurisdiction, which had been in part usurped, was constantly being extended, and sometimes developed to such lengths that the bishop was completely excluded from the privileged areas. But several bishops in the twelfth century fought against it Arnulf's brother, John, bishop of Séez, attacked the privileges of the monks of Bellême,² and Philip de Harcourt, bishop of Bayeux, was engaged for most of his episcopate in a struggle with the abbey of Fécamp and Troarn It is therefore interesting to find that Arnulf was engaged in litigation with all the three houses which had jurisdiction over parishes in the diocese of Lisieux, Fécamp,³ Montivilliers⁴ and St Évrout.⁵

The case of Montivilliers is the clearest. According to Arnulf's statement of claim in 1170,⁶ priests serving the parish of Vasouy, near Honfleur, had in the past always been instituted by the bishops of Lisieux; they had always shown obedience and reverence to Lisieux, and recognized it *tamquam mater sua*; they had also always paid *omnia episcopalia et census sinodales* to the bishops and archdeacons of Lisieux, behaving in all respects exactly like priests in neighbouring parishes. This state of affairs, Arnulf continues, also obtained under the most recent priest until he was accused in the bishop's Court of Audience (*auditorium*) of concubinage; whereupon through fear of the charge he tried to free himself from the bishop's jurisdiction In this he was helped by the abbess of Montivilliers, who received certain tithes in the parish. Arnulf had excommunicated the priest, but he continued to celebrate, and the abbess used the opportunity to introduce an 'alien' chrism and to appropriate episcopal rights *absque monasterii sui privilegio*.

The whole statement is astonishing, because according to the foundation charter of the monastery (1035), which has recently been pronounced genuine,⁷ the church of Vasouy was to be free *ab omni episcopali consuetudine*. As Arnulf declares categorically in 1170 that the church had been paying these customs from time out of mind it seems that either Arnulf's statement is untrue, or

¹ See J. F. Lemaignier, *Étude sur les privilèges d'exemption et de juridiction ecclésiastique des abbayes normandes depuis les origines jusqu'en 1140* (Archives de la France monastique, vol. xlv, 1937)

² Lemaignier, *op cit*, p. 210

³ See ep. no. 21

⁴ See epp. nos. 68 and 89

⁵ See epp. nos. 69, 70 and 86-9

⁶ Ep. no. 68.

⁷ Lemaignier, *op cit*, appendix I

that the charter is not genuine, or that the history of the exemption had not been smooth. Unless however it can be believed that Arnulf would adduce these brazen lies, which he would find quite impossible to maintain, it looks as though the abbess was attempting to usurp jurisdiction with a conveniently altered ducal charter, and that Arnulf was attacking her position on two points, prescription and the absence of an ecclesiastical privilege to warrant the jurisdiction.

Arnulf's charges against the abbey of St. Évroutl are not presented so clearly, for they appear incidentally in rather hysterical letters requesting the pope to expedite the determination of the suit,¹ and the case is confused and Arnulf's anger aggravated by other matters at issue.² But it is clear that Arnulf is again trying to obtain restitution of rights which, he claims, have been usurped by the monastery, and that these pertain to parish churches with their altars, tithes and other *beneficia* which the monks have obtained by purchase and other illegal methods from laymen. The monks have appropriated these rights, he says, without taking heed of canonical order or of episcopal consent.

In the fourteenth century St. Évroutl had the advowson of many churches in the south of the diocese, and the acquisition of some of these may be the subject of Arnulf's complaints. But the mention of altars brings us again to the question of episcopal rights and customs, for *altaria* is often equivalent to *episcopalia*. The history of two parishes dependent on the abbey, those of Montreuil-l'Argillé and Echauffour, is fairly well known. A grant of episcopal rights in them was made to St. Évroutl c. 1050 by a

¹ Epp nos 88 and 89

² In 1173 Arnulf says that the litigation had lasted thirty years, in other words, the whole of his episcopate (below, p 144). Arnulf is found in conflict with the abbey c 1159 over financial matters and the expulsion of a monk (ep nos 18 and 19). Certainly the abbot Robert II de Blangis, sometime monk of Bec, was excommunicated and suspended c 1165 by Arnulf, and although he was almost brought to his knees by papal legates (below, p 146, and ep no 70), he remained contumacious, and defied the efforts of three sets of judges-delegate. Giles de la Perche seems to have had this office soon after his election to Evreux in 1170 (ep no 69), and the third commission, composed of the deans of Bayeux and Evreux and the bishop of Avranches, did nothing owing to the sloth of the two deans (ep no 88), so that Arnulf was forced to apply to the pope for a fourth delegacy. By 1173 the case had become complicated by charges against the abbot of inobedience and perjury, and the disputed possession of a hermitage also added fuel to the fire (below, pp 145-6).

layman,¹ and the transference to monasteries of rights held improperly by the laity was illegal.² It may well be that Arnulf was reopening the question of the abbey's title to these rights, and it is perhaps significant that Arnulf says that the monks defend their title by prescription, 'although violent and disturbed possession is of no value for establishing prescription'.³ When we also find that Arnulf adds the charge that the monks under-pay the vicars in the churches⁴ there seems a clear connexion between Arnulf's action and his brother's attack on Bellême, for John tried to recover rights from that monastery in 1126 and alleged similar miscellaneous improprieties.⁵ The monks defeated John of Sééz by proving prescription, although they protested that they could have exhibited titles had they wished. These titles were soon forged by the monastery. St. Évrout appears to have preferred to obtain a papal privilege by fraud.⁶

In both these cases Arnulf seems to have failed. In an earlier dispute which has similar features he was successful.⁷ In this case Arnulf brought a suit against the abbot of Fécamp about the year 1159 for the restitution of certain rights in a church, and he had not hesitated to excommunicate the offenders. The case went before judges-delegate, who ordered the abbot to restore the usurpations (*ablata*) to Arnulf, to compel the excommunicates to make satisfaction to him, and to present (*offerre*) a priest through whom he will make both the church and parishioners obey Arnulf *tantum pastor et episcopus animarum suarum*. The abbot, Henry de Sully, then offered as a compromise that he should present the priest through (*per manum*) the archbishop of Rouen. This Arnulf refused on the grounds that such a procedure would be more in accordance with a sequestration than with a restitution of possession, and that it would be to his prejudice if there were an action concerning the ownership (*dominium*). Hennequeville was the one parish in the diocese which belonged to Fécamp and was exempt from the bishop,⁸ but the abbey may have had the patronage of other churches, although there are no signs of this in the fourteenth-century survey. It is unfortunate that we do not know definitely which church is the subject of the suit, for clearly the question

¹ Ordericus, II, 24-7, Lemaignier, *op cit*, pp 67-9

² Lemaignier, *op cit*, pp. 203-4

³ Below, p 144

⁴ Below, p. 145.

⁵ Lemaignier, *op cit*, pp 210-11

⁶ See below, p 146

⁷ Ep no 21.

⁸ Lemaignier, *op cit*, p 279

of the institution of the incumbent is at stake, and probably much more. The judges' order that the priest and the parishioners are to obey Arnulf 'as the pastor and bishop of their souls' suggests that Arnulf was trying to break down an exemption.

There is much in this litigation that is puzzling, and there is much which inclines one to think that the last word has not yet been written on monastic exemptions and ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Normandy. But one thing is clear, and that is that Arnulf was making a strong drive against such rights, and deserves to take his place by the side of his fellow-bishop, Philip de Harcourt. He does not appear to have been particularly successful, but he may have been forced to abandon the tedious litigation with Montivilliers and St Évrout through the growing misfortunes of his later years.

The condition of the clergy of the diocese was also of concern to Arnulf. Among the papal pronouncements on queries made by Arnulf that have survived two are of interest in this connexion. The first is concerned with the orders which a presentee to a church should have,¹ and the second states the bishop's powers of enforcing the repair of parish churches.² We find Arnulf endowing perpetual vicarages with great care,³ and we have seen him protesting against the habit of St Évrout of paying a vicar worse than a shepherd or a messenger.⁴ Many letters show the bishop striving to obtain the respectability of the clergy in his diocese. He started with the canons of his cathedral church, and at one stroke he made eighteen of them publicly abjure their sinful unions, but at the end of his episcopacy he had to admit that he had been unsuccessful in this work.⁵ He must have found it even harder to cope with the immorality of the parish priests; and that one man had kept his mistress for thirty years without coming into conflict with the authorities,⁶ shows rather the strength of the evil than any special slackness on the part of the bishop. It is true that there is little moral scorn in Arnulf's report of the irregularities. As would be expected from a lawyer-bishop the attitude is predominantly one of faithfully enforcing the regulations.

¹ Appendix to Lateran Council, 1179, pars xxv, cap v (J D Mansi, *Sacra conciliorum nova et ampl collectio*, xxii, 366).

² *Ibid* (G Bessin, *Concilia Rotomagensis Provinciae*, ii, 525).

³ See below, pp 175, 206 and 207. ⁴ Above, p xxxviii.

⁵ Below, pp 198-9. ⁶ Ep no 115.

Arnulf was clearly a good bishop and an energetic administrator of his diocese. His diplomatic activity need not have interfered much with his work, and if the diocese appears disordered in his last years this is without doubt due to the king's attempts to drive him from the see. Certainly it is impossible to class Arnulf as a man more interested in secular than in ecclesiastical matters. He may sometimes have been seduced by the attraction of power, but he remained in sympathy and interest more a servant of the Church than of the king.

The position he attained in the Church is best illustrated by the events of 1159-63, the period immediately preceding the Becket controversy. In September 1159 Pope Adrian IV died, and a double election was made to the papacy.¹ Memories of an earlier championship must have come back to Arnulf, and domestic trouble² gave him an incentive to action. He immediately offered his services to the cardinals,³ professed obedience to Pope Alexander,⁴ and tirelessly urged his claims before the king. He intended to be present at the Council of London, held in June or July 1160 to discuss the schism; but he was prevented,⁵ and so wrote for its benefit an hortatory epistle⁶ which Gilbert Foliot praised.⁷ He also became friendly with the legates whom Alexander sent into France, and who later gravitated to Henry's court. To Henry of Pisa, cardinal-priest of St. Nereus and St. Achilles, he sent a borrowed volume of Ennodius with shrewd criticism,⁸ and in October or November 1160, when the legates had been 'jockeyed' into giving permission for the marriage between the infant son of Henry and the infant daughter of Louis to be celebrated, so that Henry could get possession of the dowry, the Vexin castles, Arnulf wrote a long excuse to the cardinals on their behalf.⁹

Naturally Alexander was grateful for Arnulf's services, and the tone of some of the bishop's letters to the pope suggests that he considered himself another St. Bernard and Alexander another Eugenius.¹⁰ The pope's sense of indebtedness, however, cannot

¹ The most detailed account of the obscure and highly controversial events which followed is given by Dr W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III* (1159-69), (1928), pp 15-38

² See above p xxxv, and below, p lvi

³ Ep no 23

⁴ Ep no 24 Alexander's reply is printed among Arnulf's letters by Giles, no. 22

⁵ See below, p 37. ⁶ No 28 ⁷ *Materials*, v, 18 ⁸ Ep. no. 27.

⁹ Ep. no 29 See Ohnsorge, *op cit* ¹⁰ Cf ep no 35

be fully estimated, for the Becket dispute complicated relations, but undoubtedly much of Arnulf's influence with the king in that period was due to his being *persona grata* to Alexander.

We get some indication of the value that the pope set on the bishop of Lisieux in the prominence given him at the Council of Tours. This council was assembled in May 1163 to deal with the papal schism, and, subsidiary to the main business, was the settlement of several ecclesiastical quarrels, of which the question of the primacy of Canterbury over York was the most important. We have no mention of any political activity by Arnulf at the council; but he was entrusted with the sermon to follow those of the Cardinals William and Henry and of the archbishops of Rouen and York,¹ for Becket's small command of Latin kept him silent.² His rhetoric, however, was torrential, and noisy protests obscured his words.³ Nevertheless it was fortunate that he was undaunted and published the sermon, for it was concerned with the freedom and unity of the Church.⁴ In little over a year Becket was an exile, the king and the Church seemed to be splitting apart, disunion was in the Church itself, and the theme of Arnulf's sermon was to be of the greatest practical interest.

Many men in the Middle Ages were at the same time important churchmen and valued royal servants, but few have revealed their thoughts on the duality. Arnulf, however, has left us in his letters some of his views on the *regnum* and *sacerdotium*, and these are quite as important as the rather more orthodox sentiments expressed in his *Invectiva* and in this sermon. Although he was both a royal and an ecclesiastical judge he makes no general remarks on the boundaries of the two jurisdictions, but it is significant that on two occasions he comments disapprovingly on the hearing in the royal court of suits which he alleges were ecclesi-

¹ *Draco Normannicus* (in *Chronicles of Stephen*, etc., Rolls Series, vol. II), pp. 743-4

² 'Hic siluit Thomas antistes Cantuariensis,
Ut minus edoctus verba Latina loqui' *Ibid.*, p. 744

³ 'Cessit Apostolicus Arnulfo Lexoviensi
Concilium verbis irradiare suis
Sed fluviis torrens emergens fontis ab imo
Vix reprimi valuit vocibus atque manu'

Ibid., p. 744

⁴ Ed. Giles, pp. 2-25. When published by Arnulf the sermon seems to have been expanded into two orations.

astical.¹ It would be a mistake, however, to think that Arnulf was fanatical. In his views on the relations between the *regnum* and *sacerdotium* he was much more old-fashioned than some of his contemporaries. On one occasion he declares that 'as both are so bound together by the very necessity of their nature each derives great strength from the other',² and on another he avers that 'the ecclesiastical authority promotes rather than detracts from royal authority, just as royal authority usually preserves rather than abrogates ecclesiastical liberty', and that the two powers are mutually beholden, 'since neither kings can attain salvation without the church, nor can the church without royal protection get peace'.³ These expressions of political philosophy are extremely interesting, because, although they are unoriginal and commonplace,⁴ they probably represent his real feelings on the subject. He was a practical man who saw that each order had its place, and that each could not exist without the other. But he would have added, it is certain, that the burden of the priest was *praestantior*.

Arnulf has given us another expression of his political theory. When protesting against Alexander III's permission for the conventual chapter at Séez to be partially secularized, he develops views on the position of the papacy in the Church and on its relation to law.⁵ He begins by saying that papal privileges have the words *in perpetuum* in the place of a salutation, and that this suggests that they are intended to be permanent. He then considers in what cases the pope can disturb the constitutions of his predecessors, which are a kind of testament, and is inclined to allow the pope only the power to change for the better and the right of granting impermanent dispensations. Imperfect constitutions, he maintains, are fulfilled and not destroyed by being improved, and occasional relaxations are a necessary evil. Arnulf clearly is entirely opposed to the idea that the pope is a creative legislator and the superior of positive law. It is true that he draws no explicit distinction here between the different categories of law, with which he must have been well acquainted, but his position is so uncompromising that it does not appear that he would give the pope a greater function than that of a guardian who is bound to encourage improvements and close the gap between positive law, represented here by papal privileges, and divine law, and who is occasionally

¹ See below, pp. 179 and 192.

² Below, p. 76.

³ Below, p. 101.

⁴ Cf. *Materials*, vii, 86 and 88, and *Diceto*, i, 335.

⁵ Ep. no. 35.

allowed to relax temporarily the rigours of a dominant legal system. The conclusion Arnulf draws is that permanent dispensations and permanent changes from a good order to a worse are contrary to divine will and therefore void, otherwise all the institutes of the Fathers could safely be swept away. It is hardly necessary to point out that this question became of the greatest importance when there was a split in the Franciscan Order.

Arnulf's views seem in part to be a development of remarks made by St. Bernard in his *De Consideratione*; but whereas St. Bernard was advocating moderate change Arnulf takes a different line. Certainly this exposition shows that Arnulf was not unaware of the political philosophy of his day, and it is therefore of great significance to find him writing, 'for there can be neither peace for the church without royal authority, nor salvation for the kingdom save through the church'.¹

The man to whom Arnulf addressed those moderate and sensible words was Thomas Becket. Thomas partly owed his office of chancellor to Arnulf, for the bishop of Lisieux had joined with other prelates after Henry's coronation in bringing this talented young man to the king's notice.² Too soon, however, he had found in him a rival, and his letter of congratulation to Becket on his elevation to the primacy in 1162 is short.³ Like Foliot he probably resented the intrusion of a mere courtier, and he had other grievances too. But Becket's disgrace gave him his opportunity, and it is not surprising to find him playing an active part for the king in the early years of the dispute. He repeatedly travelled to the pope at the end of 1163 with Richard of Ilchester, archdeacon of Poitiers and later bishop of Winchester and always one of his firmest friends, in an effort to obtain the pope's sanction for the Constitutions of Clarendon and the legateship for the archbishop of York,⁴ and he was one of Henry's ambassadors to Sens after the flight of Becket in 1164.⁵

If the quarrel had remained one of an ungrateful archbishop who used all his casuistry to avoid accepting the customs of the country, and a disappointed, but restrained king, Arnulf might have been able to serve Henry and the Church with equal fidelity

¹ Below, p. 76

² Anon., I, *Materials*, iv, 12, William fitz Stephen, *ibid.*, iii, 18

³ No. 36.

⁴ Diceto, i, 312, Alexander to Becket, *Materials*, v, 85

⁵ Diceto, i, 315, Alan of Tewkesbury, *Materials*, ii, 336

and with little embarrassment. But when the quarrel widened, and Becket looked as though he would become a martyr for the privileges of the Church, Arnulf cannot have been unmindful of his own treatment by Henry's father. Certainly the persecution of Becket impressed him, and Nicholas of Mont St. Jacques wrote enthusiastically to Becket after an interview with Arnulf at his manor of Nonant about Christmastime, saying that the bishop had professed himself to be a secret supporter of the exile, and that he would visit him if he could throw off the shackles of debt,¹ a debt that was, indeed, always a burden, but frequently a useful excuse.

However sincere Arnulf's confession may have been, and there seems no reason to doubt the good faith, for such an admission was dangerous, he also gave some excellent and characteristically sane advice to Becket, bidding him husband his resources if he had any, and, if not, carefully conceal his indigence. In March 1165 Arnulf sent more advice to the archbishop, advising him to avoid insistence on *minutiae*, giving him a statement of the position of the parties, generally acting towards a compromise, and begging him to keep his overtures secret.²

The growing violence of Becket, however, thrust him back into the royalist party. It was he who suggested at the Council of Chinon in June 1166 that Becket's proposed censures should be avoided by appeal, and he went with the bishop of Séez and the archbishop of Rouen on the unsuccessful journey to Pontigny to put this into practice.³ Thus Arnulf's position was essentially moderate, and, except that his being a bishop inclined him to greater impartiality, his attitude was little different from that of John of Salisbury.⁴ He deplored the violence of each party, and his sympathy fluctuated with the behaviour of the king and of the archbishop. However laudable his attitude, it gradually robbed him of all vital importance. The archiepiscopal party distrusted him, seeing in him nothing but a schemer, and his old enemy, John of Salisbury, *manus archiepiscopi et oculus ejus*,⁵ poisoned Becket's mind against him.⁶ Nor did his growing moderation help

¹ *Materials*, v, 147.

² No. 42.

³ Bosham, *Materials*, III, 393, John of Salisbury to Bartholomew of Exeter, *ibid.*, v, 381-2, Nicholas of Mont St. Jacques to Becket, *ibid.*, v, 419.

⁴ For John's attitude, see Webb, *John of Salisbury*, pp. 109-11.

⁵ Peter of Blois, ep. no. 22, *M P L*, ccvii, 80.

⁶ Cf. letter in *Materials*, v, 101.

him with the king, and he seems to have been used more as a respectable figure-head than as a trusted agent

It was perhaps the growing bitterness of the struggle, as shown by Becket's excommunication of supporters of the king at Vézelay, that induced Arnulf once more to take steps to resign his bishopric and withdraw to a monastery. He began tentative negotiations for retirement to the Cistercian abbey of Mortemer in the diocese of Lisieux, but he was tied by his creditors, and he approached the king at Touques in the autumn of 1166 asking for permission to leave the country for at least a year to free himself from debt, so that he could enter a monastery on his return.

But the king, looking at him said, 'For sooth your appearance has changed more than you realize, and it seems to me that you cannot bear the burden much longer. But, for all that, you shall never leave my land because of poverty. I myself will speak to your creditors, and will help you in other ways, and keep you safe from troubles and weariness.'¹

This was probably deliberate obtuseness on the part of Henry, and he may have feared that Arnulf wished to join the archbishop. But he left his promises unfulfilled, for Arnulf reappeared shortly afterwards at Caen with the same demands. The king asked him how much he required to keep him from exile, and when Arnulf said two hundred marks, Henry said that he had not got such a sum, but the same night he sent the bishop sixty.

Would that he had not accepted the tainted money of the prince¹ [wrote Becket's correspondent], since now the king will think that he has bought the man he had seen in poverty, and will use him as a tool for fulfilling his wicked designs. For the king henceforth will have more trust in him, and the bishop (as I fear) will be more falsely true.²

Royal clemency or external aid must have supervened, and the prohibition to retire relaxed, for Arnulf is seen in these years actively negotiating for retreat. In a pessimistic letter to the abbot of Cîteaux he says that weakness and old age destroy the promise of a long life, and that the demands of royal business give him no respite, so he looked for a place where he might find peace, and, while many have gladly invited him, he has chosen Mortemer, and there, in private but not as a recluse, he has built himself modest lodgings. But the scheme fell through. The king and the abbot of Cîteaux quarrelled over the site of the building, and Arnulf was not to find peace for more than another stormy decade.³

¹ Friend to Becket, *Materials*, vi, 72

² *Ibid*, p 73

³ Ep no 53

Nevertheless he withdrew somewhat from public affairs, and probably devoted himself to the collection of his literary works.¹ He attended the funeral of Henry's mother, the Empress Matilda, at Bec in 1167,² and wrote some verses in her honour.³ But the threat of premature decrepitude must have passed away during the retirement, and he returned to the court in the rôle of mediator. In the Middle Ages, especially, the fruit of old age appeared as wisdom. So Arnulf seems to have had an honourable position, and it is on his counsel that the king is often represented as acting, while his agents are young and active men, the bishops of the future.

Arnulf was present at the meeting of the Legate Vivian, Henry, and Becket at Bur-le-Roi, near Bayeux, in September 1169,⁴ and sent a letter to the pope protesting against the behaviour of his nuncios.⁵ He was also present at the reconciliation of Fréteval in July of the next year, when he raised the point of pardons for the adherents of the king.⁶ Tradition has always been strong at Lisieux that Becket visited the city, and vestments, in which he is said to have celebrated, have been preserved in the chapel of the hospital at Lisieux. This story has had its detractors, but it has also had scholarly champions.⁷ Certainly a strong cult of the saint developed at Lisieux shortly after his death, and there is nothing improbable in that Becket, during the anxious period between his reconciliation with Henry and his return to England, should have travelled secretly to take the advice of one who, though never fully trusted, yet was the most able to enlighten him on the intentions of the king.

If Arnulf had this opportunity of giving advice, he must have watched the archbishop moving to his fate with an irritation which may temporarily have conquered sympathy. He stood fast by the king, wrote to Alexander to describe Henry's grief at the murder,⁸

¹ See below, p. 1, note b

² Torigni, p. 232; *Draco Normannicus* (in *Chronicles of . . . Stephen*, etc., vol. II), p. 714

³ Ed. Gales, p. 41

⁴ Friend to Becket, *Materials*, vii, 70-5, Vivian to Alexander, *ibid.*, 79-80.

⁵ No 55.

⁶ Becket to Alexander, *Materials*, vii, 335. Garnier de Pont-Sainte-Maxence gives a dramatic version (*La Vie de S. Thomas*, ed. C. Hippeau (Paris, 1859), p. 154).

⁷ Notably the Abbé Simon. See his *Recherches* (*ut supra*, p. xx). He believes that the chasuble at the hospital belonged to Arnulf, and was borrowed by Becket, and that Arnulf bequeathed the relic to the chapel, which he had consecrated, when he retired to Paris.

⁸ No 72

and he was among those who tried to prevent the interdict thrown on the royal continental possessions in January 1171 by the archbishop of Sens.¹ His zeal for reconciliation did not die while the king was in Ireland, and it was largely due to him that Henry made peace with the Church through the Legates Albert and Theodwin at Savigny in May 1172.²

Arnulf also interceded for his fellow-bishops who had suffered censure at the hands of the archbishop or the pope. In the summer of 1169 and December 1170 he wrote in favour of the bishop of London,³ and in December 1170 he defended the conduct of the bishop of Salisbury.⁴ After Becket's return to England and the suspension of the bishops for complicity in the coronation of the young king, Arnulf wrote to the pope pleading that the feud should not be continued in this time of peace, and affirming that the ceremony was perfectly regular.⁵ The archbishop of York, in disgrace for this same action, also had recourse to his services, and Arnulf wrote to the Cardinals William of Pavia and John of Naples and to the pope asking for a reconciliation.⁶

These are not the actions of a cunning schemer who always put the favour of the king before the interests of the Church. They show a moderation and a distaste for violence which suggest that the restless bishop had at last attained a gravity lacking in his early years. It would have been easy for Arnulf to throw in his lot with either party. From the one he might have got earthly magnificence, from the other sanctity. He chose not to be spectacular.

§ 5. THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH

When elected bishop, Arnulf inherited a cathedral and an episcopal palace much damaged by war,⁷ and doubtless plans for their reconstruction were henceforth always at the back of his mind. Lack

¹ William of Sens to Alexander, *Materials*, vii, 442; William to Hugh of Durham, *ibid*, vii, 444.

² Ep no 87; Anonymous, *Materials*, vii, 513. Albert and Theodwin to William of Sens, *ibid*, vii, 520.

³ Nos 54a and 54b, compare the criticism of Herbert of Bosham in *Materials*, vii, 268, and of an unknown, *ibid*, vii, 273 and note 1.

⁴ No 60.

⁵ No 59.

⁶ Nos. 75 and 84.

⁷ In 1136 the Breton defenders set fire to the city to prevent it falling into the hands of Geoffrey of Anjou, who was pressing the siege (Ordericus, v, 69-70).

of money and incessant public business, however, hindered his ambition, and at the end of thirty years he had done nothing but patch up the fabric¹ Still, the death of Becket must have suggested to many the coming of more spacious years, and Arnulf, although in the middle sixties of his life, threw all his energy into his building programme² His taste and activity were inspired by the zeal shown on the French royal estates by his fellow-bishops, Hugh of Sens, Baldwin of Noyon, Ribaut of Senlis, Walter of Laon and Maurice of Paris, and it is not surprising that in his old age he should have returned to the cultural associations of his youth, and built a French church in Normandy³

Fraternities for the financing of the operations were being organized in 1166⁴ and 1170,⁵ in which a direct connexion with the church of Noyon is shown, but the major foundations could not have been laid earlier than 1171⁶ Nine years later, when Arnulf was in retirement, he could announce that the work was

¹ He turned to repairs immediately, see below, pp 3-4 The marriage between Henry of Normandy and Eleanor of Aquitaine, however, was not celebrated at Lisieux in 1152 as M Louis Serbat believes (*Lisieux, Petites monographies des grands édifices de la France*, Paris, 1926) It took place at Poitiers See the chronicle of the Counts of Poitou in *HF*, xii, 410, and cf the chronicle of Tours in *HF*, xii, 474, and Gervase, i, 149

² There has been considerable difficulty over fixing the date of the building of the present church, because, although archaeological evidence favoured the late twelfth century, early investigators could not reconcile the literary evidence with this They thought that Arnulf was shown to have started building in 1143 See, for instance, C. Vasseur, 'Études Historiques et archéologiques sur la cathédrale de Lisieux' in *Bull Soc des Antiquaires de Normandie*, vol x (1881) G Huard, in an excellent monograph ('La Cathédrale de Lisieux aux xi^e et xii^e siècles', *Études Lexoviennes*, vol 11, 1919), reinterpreted the literary evidence, and showed that there was no conflict Serbat, *op cit*, incorporated his results in a more comprehensive but less detailed treatise, and he gives a good bibliography on p 124 *seq* It is unfortunate that all these archaeologists misdate some of Arnulf's letters, but actually this does not invalidate the conclusions of Huard and Serbat

³ Huard, *op cit*, p 13, connects Arnulf's choice of French architects for his cathedral with his building operations at St Victor, Paris But it is unlikely that he was actually planning his retirement in detail so early, especially at a time when he had so much on hand at home

⁴ See below, p. 88

⁵ Ep no 63

⁶ By a miracle St Thomas saved the life of a man who was entombed in a trench during the renovation of the cathedral (William of Canterbury, 'Miracles of St. Thomas', *Materials*, 1, 265-7) Thus major foundations were being excavated after 1170.

practically finished,¹ and to him is now ascribed the building of the nave and aisles, the transepts and part of the choir, and perhaps the plan of the whole building.² The construction was completed by Jordan du Hommet (1202-18) and William de Pont-de-l'Arche (1218-50), who finished the building of the east end of the church with its apse, ambulatory and chapels, thus settling the plan and appearance of the cathedral.

Arnulf seems also to have reconstructed the episcopal palace,³ which had suffered the same fate as the church; but the present edifice is modern, and little is known of its predecessor.

The cost of these building operations was in part met by the organization of collectors and fraternities, and Arnulf suffered some loss by the disappearance of priests who, having had previous experience of the work in connexion with the church of Noyon, were entrusted with the formation of fraternities in the diocese of Lisieux.⁴ By 1180, when Arnulf had retired, he had spent twelve thousand livres on his buildings, and, although he claimed that most of the cost was personally subscribed, the canons held that he had despoiled the revenues of the church for this purpose.⁵ Perhaps Arnulf did not see eye to eye with the Chapter over the reconstruction. Certainly he built feverishly: an old man wanting to see his project fulfilled before he died. Seldom was a medieval church thrown up so quickly, and evidence of the haste in building has been observed.⁶

The financial strain must have been enormous. At Lisieux there was no special fabric fund until 1383, when the archaic Merovingian tripartite division of revenue was changed to the more general quadripartite,⁷ and the apportionment of the expenses caused dissension between Arnulf and the Chapter. Arnulf himself admits in 1178 that the builders had not been paid for several years,⁸ and the canons finally went to law and claimed from their bishop the repayment of their disbursements.⁹

¹ See below, p. 209. ² Huard, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17, Serbat, *op. cit.*

³ Torgny, p. 298, see below, p. 209. It appears to have been finished by 1178 (see below, p. 192).

⁴ Ep. no. 63. ⁵ See below, p. lviii.

⁶ Huard, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

⁷ Vasseur, *op. cit.*, H. de Formeville, 'Notice sur les Chanoines de l'Ancienne Cathédrale de Lisieux', in *Mémoires lus à la Sorbonne* (1866), p. 492.

⁸ See below, p. 190.

⁹ See below, p. lviii.

This charge of spoliation of revenues appears to have been a common accusation against bishops who had a zeal for building¹ In Arnulf's case the strife was disastrous, for it isolated him at the very time when the king was engineering his ruin² Nevertheless it was money well spent, for the church that he did so much to build, although since 1790 no longer the seat of a bishop,³ has lasted almost eight centuries, and, although it suffered the vicissitude of riot and wars, it has required but little renovation

§ 6. DISGRACE AND LAST YEARS

The death of Thomas Becket, although violent, was not the prelude to a fiercer conflict, but the last portent of a career that had seriously disturbed many moderate men But at the end of a period of strife it is not, usually the moderate elements which are rewarded The bishoprics that had fallen vacant during the conflict were filled by the extreme partisans of the king. John of Salisbury supported the candidature of his old enemy, Richard of Ilchester,⁴ but had to find honour abroad. And Arnulf, although his position as an elder statesman seemed strengthened, was to be disgraced within five years.

The reason for his downfall is obscure. The most important public business which remained as a legacy of the Becket dispute after Henry's reconciliation with the Church was the filling up of the vacant bishoprics,⁵ and much progress had been made with it when in the spring of 1173 a revolt against the king's rule broke out. Queen Eleanor and the elder sons were the prime movers in the rebellion, and they rallied all the king's external and internal enemies During the negotiations over the consecration of the bishops-elect, and certainly during the early period of the revolt of the king's sons, Arnulf publicly supported the king and his policy. He was still writing until 1174 on behalf of the candidates,⁶ and he accompanied the archbishop of Rouen on the unsuccessful legation to King Louis in the summer of 1173 to obtain his neutrality in the war⁷ Yet in the course of these years Arnulf seriously and

¹ *Compte-rendu du Congrès Archéologique de 1844*, p. 252

² See below, pp. lv, seqq. ³ De Formeville, *op. cit.*, p. 479

⁴ Epp. nos. 313 and 314, *MPL*, cxcix, 37

⁵ See below, p. 145, n. a. ⁶ Epp. nos. 92, 94-6 and 98

⁷ The ambassadors' report to Henry was written by Peter of Blois who accompanied them (inserted in Arnulf's letters by Giles, no. 67, *MPL*, cci, 95; Peter, ep. no. 153, *MPL*, ccvii, 446)

permanently offended King Henry, and his disgrace is connected with the rebellion, although only one chronicler mentions his fault Benedict of Peterborough, when noticing his retirement in 1181, says that he received friends and relatives of the young Henry's officials.¹ Arnulf himself, although he wrote many pleading letters to the king, is vague on the subject of the charges against him. Once he says that he has been accused of *crimen fraudis*,² and on another occasion he mentions *desidie uel fraudis argumenta*.³ It may be inferred that Arnulf's behaviour was ambiguous, and this would not be surprising. He had served the Angevins for twenty-five years, but there seem to have been two countries he loved, Normandy, and then France.

Olim me celebrem Normannia tota poetam
Duxit, vixque dabat Gallia tota parem
Altera de primis me credidit, altera primum,
Deque suis dixit illa, sed ista suum.⁴

The tendency of the Norman Church to regard itself as part of the French could never be entirely checked, and the reversion of the province to the French crown under John was largely due to the attitude of the Norman episcopacy. Certainly Arnulf, as a churchman, had many more ties with France than with England, and all his convictions and ideals inclined him towards the Gallican Church.⁵ This natural sympathy had been reinforced by many other factors. His education had been partly obtained in France, and French culture always exercised a profound influence on him. He had also been intimate with the French king and French statesmen,⁶ and was closely connected with members of the house of Blois-Champagne,⁷ which, in the person of Theobald V of Blois, joined King Louis in supporting the rebellion of 1173. Moreover Arnulf's intercourse with France was exceptionally close at this time, for he had started the building of his cathedral church, and he was drawing on the churches of the French royal demesne for advice and skilled labour.⁸

¹ 1, 278, this later charge of complicity caused his name to be inserted earlier in one of the MSS among the adherents of the young Henry (Benedict, 1, 51, n 4). Hoveden (*Chronica* (Rolls Series), II, 260) cuts Benedict's narrative to omit mention of Arnulf's complicity.

² See below, p 169

³ See below, p 185

⁴ Arnulf, poem no 14

⁵ Cf below, p 42

⁶ See above, pp xxv, seqq

⁷ See above, p xiv

⁸ See above, p xlviii

There were other reasons, too, which may have caused Arnulf to waver in his allegiance. He was dissatisfied with his position with the English king, and the young Henry was a man of wonderful fascination. Nor should it be forgotten that behind Arnulf was that difficult period when he had dissimulated often and had preached dissimulation¹. Caution may well have become a habit.

One document has survived which seems to be incriminating². A letter to the abbot of Cour-Dieu in the diocese of Orleans, which has been truncated in the regular edition of Arnulf's letters, but has survived intact in the Vatican codex, appears to date from December 1172, at the time when the rebellion was brewing. Arnulf writes to say that he has received the abbot's messenger, but that nothing can be done about 'the business' until Christmas, when he and others, who have 'the business' at heart, will join the young king on his return to Normandy. And he adds that he expects much profit from the intervention of the French king. There may be nothing sinister in these guarded words, but there is a possibility that Arnulf was in touch with the count of Blois and other enemies of King Henry.

If Arnulf indeed played the double game in these years, he was to pay a heavy penalty. All his contemporaries say that Henry never forgave a man whom he once disliked,³ and Arnulf's uses were now spent. Henry had ridden the storms, and could dispense with the services of 'antiquus ille fidelis uester, Lexouiensis episcopus'. Young men, who had stood by Henry during the strife with Becket, were clamouring for reward, and the bishopric of Lisieux, held by one of the last representatives of the old order, was a suitable gift. Arnulf's fall from favour occurred in the spring of 1175, in all probability the result of the king's review of his supporters after the peace with his sons in September 1174, and shows in what spirit Henry honoured his pledge to forgive his enemies.⁴

The king was in Normandy from March to May 1175,⁵ and in

¹ See below, pp. 75 and 104

² Ep. no. 76

³ 'Quem semel exosum habuerat, vix in amorem, quem semel amaverat, vix in odium revocabat', Gerald of Wales ('Expugnatio Hibernica'), v. 304, cf. Peter of Blois, ep. no. 66, *MPL*, ccvii, 198. It is to be feared that only the first part is a true estimate of Henry's character.

⁴ Benedict, i, 77

⁵ The chronological framework is based on Eyton.

this period had a stormy interview with Arnulf,¹ who, after agreeing to make a pilgrimage to the tomb of Becket with King Henry and his eldest son,² took sudden fright, and fled to his manor of Nonant near Bayeux.³ There he repented of his ambiguous action, thinking that it might be interpreted by his enemies as due to contumacy rather than to fear, and he started out to join the king. But he fell ill at Cersy-la-Forêt, and wrote to Henry protesting his innocence,⁴ and to Walter de Coutances, the deputy and acting chancellor, who was later to do him so much harm, explaining his movements and actions.⁵ Meanwhile he heard that the king had left for England in May, and with renewed vigour he hurried in pursuit of him. He found that Henry had moved north that summer to York, but although Arnulf was undaunted by the difficulties, his requests for an interview seem to have been denied, and the old bishop returned to Normandy.⁶

In this period Arnulf seems hopeful of regaining the royal favour, and he pleads eloquently for pardon for a servant who had aided the king during so many years, and whose doubtful crime was far outweighed by his services.⁷ It is noticeable that Arnulf never once admits complicity in the rebellion, and the nearest he gets to shading his protestations of innocence is to admit that he might perhaps have acted imprudently through ignorance or simplicity.⁸ While to Henry he recounts the benefits of his long royal service, and seeks to kindle sentiment by dwelling on the king's boyhood,⁹ to his old friend Richard, bishop of Winchester, who was his one supporter at court, he stresses the difficulties and humiliation of that very period, the rivalries at court, the lack of intimacy,¹⁰ and both in 1175 and 1178 he boldly points out to the king that the world would not be unmoved by the persecution of one of the faithful servants of the Church, and that its sympathy would be with one whose fame was strengthened by many years and many journeys.¹¹

For a time active measures against the bishop were withheld; but in the summer of 1177 Henry started the persecution by restor-

¹ Arnulf witnesses a royal charter at Rouen in this period (Round, *Calendar* p. 34)

² See below, pp 171-2

³ Below, p. 165

⁴ Ep no 106

⁵ Ep no 105

⁶ Epp nos 107 and 109

⁷ Ep no 110

⁸ Below, p. 166

⁹ Ep no 108

¹⁰ Ep no 107

¹¹ Below, pp 173 and 187.

ing the chapelry of Bosham to Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter, at Arnulf's expense. This rich benefice, which had been held by the bishops of Exeter since the Conquest,¹ had been taken from Robert of Exeter by the king in 1155, as punishment for an appeal to the pope, and granted to Arnulf.² Taking heart, however, from the new turn of events, the bishop of Exeter was trying to obtain restitution at Rome, when, in the spring of 1177, Arnulf tried to use Bosham as a bargaining weapon, offering to restore it to Bartholomew, saving the revenue for life, if he would help him to regain the favour of the king.³ At such a game Henry could not be outplayed, and on the strength of Arnulf's letter he restored the benefice to Bartholomew on 12 June 1177, replying ironically to Arnulf's protests that he had seen his letter and did not wish to go against his will.⁴

The arrival in Normandy during September of Peter of Pavia, now cardinal-priest of St Chrysogonus, as papal legate to settle the question of the marriage of Richard, duke of Aquitaine, to Alice, daughter of the French king,⁵ was a favourable opportunity for mediation. He was an old friend of Arnulf's, perhaps a Victorine, certainly connected with Chartres,⁶ and had received a special copy of his letters.⁷ Before Peter left for Toulouse in 1178,⁸ Arnulf had a meeting with him and with the king,⁹ who had crossed to Normandy in September 1177, at which it was decided that he would resign his bishopric on condition that the king paid his debts, so that he could enter a religious house with a clear conscience.¹⁰ This convention was, however, unfulfilled. Henry proposed as an additional condition that Arnulf should secure the election of the royal servant and archdeacon of Oxford, Walter de Coutances, as his successor, and withheld the money until these terms were accepted.¹¹ He sent the archbishop of

¹ See below, p. 174, n. a, and p. 175, n. a.

² Becket to Alexander, *Materials*, vii, 241-2, *Great Rolls of the Pipe*, 2, 3, 4 Henry II, ed. Jos. Hunter (London, 1844), p. 61.

³ Benedict, i, 181, and ep. no. 111.

⁴ Benedict, i, 190, Gervase, i, 271.

⁵ See below, p. lxxxii.

⁶ Benedict, i, 199, and Delehaye, 'Pierre de Pavie, légat du pape Alexandre III en France', in *Rev. des Questions hist.*, vol. xlix (1891).

⁷ Peter and Arnulf witness a royal charter at Caen (Round, *Calendar*, p. 118).

⁸ See below, pp. 183, 186-7, 189, 191 and 193.

⁹ See below, pp. 183, 187, 189, 191 and 193.

Rouen, the bishop of Bayeux, the chancellor, Ralph de Warneville, and Walter de Coutances to persuade Arnulf to submit;¹ but although Arnulf wrote to Henry saying that he would resign if he were paid the money,² he complained bitterly to his friend Richard, bishop of Winchester, of their simoniacal demands, and said that he could not agree to their terms.³ Arnulf had not lost his interest in the freedom of the Church.

The struggle became bitter. Henry was determined to hound the bishop from his see, and incited his officials to oppress him. Between March 1178, when William fitz Ralph succeeded Richard of Winchester as seneschal, a sinister conclusion to the negotiations, and July, when the king returned to England, taking Walter de Coutances with him, the heaviest blows were struck. Walter, whom Arnulf accuses of misusing the king's seal,⁴ and William strained the law to further their master's will,⁵ and the archbishop of Rouen aided them.⁶ The opportunity for which the royal officials had been waiting arose out of the behaviour of one of Arnulf's nephews, a knight. According to Arnulf⁷ they falsely charged his kinsman with the forcible rescue of a deacon, whom the seneschal's officers had seized at the bishop's table in the episcopal palace and were dragging to prison. Arnulf was then required to produce his nephew, who had fled before the seneschal's threats,⁸ in court, and, when he failed to do so, was held to have broken his recognizances, although he protests he never stood surety. We cannot tell whether the charges were trumped up or had a technical justification, but the law was enforced with every severity. William fitz Ralph confiscated the temporalities of the see, and took over the administration, without, apparently, discriminating too nicely between temporal and spiritual jurisdiction. A royal official (*prefectus*) governed the city in the place of Arnulf, and all revenues were diverted from the bishop.⁹ At the same

¹ See below, pp. 183, 187 and 191. ² Ep. no 120. ³ Ep. no 119.

⁴ Below, p. 209. Walter was deputy-chancellor and keeper of the king's seal. Doubtless he looked at the matter from a purely professional standpoint. As bishop of Lincoln and archbishop of Rouen he obtained the praise of Peter of Blois, '*De Institutione Episcopi*', *MPL*, ccvii, 1099.

⁵ See below, pp. 182, 189, 191, 192, 204 and 209. ⁶ Ep. no 131.

⁷ See below, p. 192. Arnulf calls the charge against his nephew an *ecclesiastica causa*.

⁸ He appears to have been captured later and imprisoned. See below, p. 194.

⁹ See below, pp. 183, 189, 191 and 193. The jurors of the famous inquest of 1205 regarding royal rights at Liseux and elsewhere, said *inter alia*, 'Item

time Arnulf was ordered not to leave the land ¹ Walter de Coutances organized a party in the cathedral against him, and on his return to England left one of the canons, Hubert, as his agent.² Hence for ten days Arnulf was compelled to wander 'eating the bread of strangers in strange houses'.³

The schism in his church completed Arnulf's discomfiture, and it was through such turbulent victories that the canons were to obtain the powers which in later times reduced the bishop's authority.⁴ At this time Walter de Coutances found a useful tool in Arnulf's nephew, Silvester, who was joined in conspiracy by his brother or cousin,⁵ Hugh de Nonant, in 1179, both of whom Arnulf had educated from their youth.

Silvester was treasurer of Lisieux at Arnulf's accession, and in 1159 or 1160, after Arnulf had been trying to reform his church by the removal of the canons' concubines, his nephew intrigued with the canons and with John, the nephew of Arnulf's enemy Froger of Sééz.⁶ But he recanted before the judges-delegate, and was forgiven by his uncle.⁷ Before 1164 Arnulf lost the favour of the king, and Silvester became contumacious again. He was excommunicated by his uncle, but in 1163 or 1165 the pope, although upholding the sentence, persuaded Arnulf to forgive him once more.⁸ Arnulf complained to Alexander in 1173 about Silvester,⁹ and when he was in royal disgrace again, and apparently after

diximus per sacramentum nostrum, quod vidimus Henricum et Richardum quondam Reges Angliae tenentes placitum spatiae in civitate, et banleua Lexovii, postquam Arnulfus Lexoviensis Episcopus recessit a Normania exul hac de causa' (F Pommeraye, *Sanctae Rotomagensis Ecclesiae Concilia ac Synodalia Decreta* (Rouen, 1677), pp 194 seqq) See also Round, *Calendar*, pp 476 seqq This certainly was the occasion of Arnulf's departure, but it seems rash to assume, as Deshays and de Formeville (*op cit* (*supra* p xiii), I, dclviij and II, 67), that the question of jurisdiction was of long standing and the sole substance of the quarrel between Arnulf and the king For the bishop of Lisieux's secular jurisdiction, see de Formeville, *op cit*, I, dcliv seqq

¹ See below, pp 183 and 193

² See below, pp 183 and 193

³ Below, p 191, cf p 183

⁴ H de Formeville, 'Notice sur les Chanoines de l'ancienne cathédrale de Lisieux', pp 477-99, and *Histoire de l'ancien évêché-comté de Lisieux*, I, cxxxvi

⁵ They were both nephews of Arnulf, and Hugh was the son of the bishop's sister. But Arnulf never states that the two were brothers Hugh must have been much younger than Silvester

⁶ See above, p. xxxv.

⁷ Epp nos 33 and 132.

⁸ Ep no 132

⁹ See below, p 146

the king's violence had begun to be effective in 1178, the canons took the opportunity of conspiring, and once more Silvester was the ringleader.¹ Arnulf must many times have wished that his uncle had been successful in substituting canons-regular for the seculars.

Driven from his see by lack of revenue and jurisdiction, Arnulf, although desiring to retire on honourable terms in order to escape the summons to the Lateran Council of 1179,² appointed deputies in his ecclesiastical administration, and took refuge at St. Victor, Paris.³ From there he sent letters to the pope asking to be relieved from attendance at the council,⁴ and a request that he should be allowed to resign the see at his discretion, for he feared that at such a moment his revenues would go to the royal exchequer and that his creditors would have nothing.⁵ The pope granted his conditional resignation,⁶ but he seems to have left the duty of attendance unremitted, for Arnulf began the next stage of the long journey to Rome. His health, however, failed again, and he lingered in Burgundy while his nephew, Hugh de Nonant, carried fresh petitions for release to Alexander,⁷ and while another messenger was dispatched to Richard of Ilchester to beg a palfrey to carry the debilitated bishop.⁸

Meanwhile the revolt of the canons continued. While he still waited in Burgundy, Arnulf received letters from the king and from the Chapter probably again demanding his resignation and his aid for the nominated successor, Walter de Coutances. But he replied to Gilbert de Glanville, archdeacon of Lisieux and later bishop of Rochester, that he could not do what they demanded, but that when he had received a reply from the pope he would return to Normandy and consider the matter.⁹ In the late spring of 1179 Arnulf left Burgundy for his last visit to Normandy. His temporalities were in the hands of the king, and perhaps he found refuge in a monastery. But he did not hide his head, for on 1 July he was present at Rouen for the ceremonies which accompanied the translation of St. Roman.¹⁰

¹ See below, p. 200

² See below, p. 187. For the summons, see Benedict, 1, 101. Arnulf had consulted Peter of Blois about resigning (Peter, ep. no. 44, *MPL*, ccvii, 128).

³ See below, pp. 188, 190 and 192

⁴ Ep. no. 123

⁵ Ep. no. 124

⁶ See below, p. 192

⁷ See below, p. 195

⁸ Ep. no. 129

⁹ Ep. no. 128

¹⁰ 'Translatio Corporis S. Romani in Augustiorem Thecam, Ex Archivo Cathedralis Ecclesiae', Pommeraye, *S. Rothomagi Eccl. Concilia*, pp. 162-3, and Bessin, *Concilia Rotomagi Prov.*, 11, 31

The intrigues of the canons, however, were moving to their climax. Complaints which they had carried to Rome produced their effect, and the pope partially suspended Arnulf from his office. The bishop did not struggle, and when the pope finally allowed his resignation, he accepted the release with humility.¹ His mind was now occupied with the last preparations for his retirement to St. Victor, and when he began to collect the wreckage of his fortune in order to endow his new home,² his enemies put every obstacle in his way. His chattels were held by the king, and the canons accused him of the dilapidation of the church chiefly by means of the debts incurred during the rebuilding of the cathedral.³ They secured judgment against him for 100 livres; but when they distrained on the new vestments which he had prepared for himself, Arnulf was moved to protest, and the pope quashed the sentence.⁴

This, however, was not the only way in which Arnulf's retirement was embittered. The loyalty of Hugh de Nonant must long have worn threadbare. In the past he had bridled when, in alliance with his kinsman Silvester, his request for the advancement of their nephews had been rejected by Arnulf,⁵ and a sceptical forgiving letter of his uncle, that seems to fall still earlier, is extant.⁶ Now he joined in the growing alliance against Arnulf, and he seems to have made himself even more hateful than Silvester,⁷ if only because he had been more loved.⁸ He obstructed the grant of the church of St. Peter, Gacé, which Arnulf had granted as oblation to the canons at Paris,⁹ and dispossessed a priest of its chapel.¹⁰ This grant was to the prejudice of Hugh, for he was dean and archdeacon of Gacé,¹¹ and the dean had certain fiscal rights in the church¹² which may have been ignored. Nevertheless Hugh owed all his benefices to Arnulf's generosity, and the grant of Gacé to

¹ See below, pp 208-9

² Benedict (i, 278) says that he collected money from every source to take to Paris.

³ See above, p. xlix, and below, pp 209-10.

⁴ See below, p 210 ⁵ See below, p. 201.

⁶ Ep. no. 103 ⁷ See below, p 201

⁸ It is likely that poem no 14 was addressed to Hugh

⁹ See below, p 212. ¹⁰ See below, pp 202 and 212

¹¹ See below, p. 201, note c ¹² See below, p 202

St. Victor appears to have been a restoration of an ancient right,¹ and was upheld by later popes.²

When Arnulf finally retired to St. Victor it only remained to make peace with the king.³ In April 1180 Henry returned to Normandy, and at a meeting at Gisors in July 1181, just before the king left for England, the parties came to an agreement.⁴ Arnulf gave the king formal notice of his resignation,⁵ and Henry promised him 200 livres for his chattels and granted him an annual pension of the same amount.⁶ The threat of the intrusion of Walter de Coutances surprisingly enough came to nothing, for the king nominated his chancellor, Ralph de Warneville, to the see immediately after the resignation.⁷ But Henry was mean or careless to the last. The money was not paid, and from Paris Arnulf complained of the bad faith of William fitz Ralph who repeatedly evaded payment,⁸ and of the brutality of Hugh de Nonant who visited him in order to tell him that he would never receive it.⁹ His last letter, however, is one of philosophic peace,¹⁰ and, as he was able to leave 300 Angevin livres and 100 of Paris to the canons of St. Victor at his death,¹¹ it seems as though he received some relief. But the church of Gacé was not restored to St. Victor until after he had died.¹²

¹ Arnulf says in 1181 (below, pp 212 and 213) that the canons have lately possessed the church for two or three years, and that their predecessors possessed it from ancient times. It is very unusual for a monastery to lose its patronage, but Gacé is in the area where the boundaries between the dioceses of Lisieux and Séez were often in dispute, and it is possible that the church may once have been in the diocese of Séez, and may have been alienated by St. Victor when Séez was colonized from the Paris house.

² *GC*, xi, *instr* col 210.

³ Benedict (i, 278) says that Arnulf had deserted his bishopric before his resignation, and it is significant that Henry and Arnulf should have had their final interview at Gisors, on the Norman-French boundary.

⁴ See below, pp 213, 214 and 215. Henry was at Gisors at least three times during his stay in Normandy, in June and September 1180, and c July 1181 (Eyton). Both Benedict (i, 278) and Torgny (p 298) give the resignation under 1181, and Torgny says that Arnulf ruled for forty years. The last date is therefore preferable.

⁵ Benedict, i, 278.

⁶ See below, pp 215-6.

⁷ Benedict and Torgny, *loc cit*. He gained a reputation for great meanness, and Peter of Blois compares him unfavorably with his munificent predecessor (ep. no 91, *MPL*, ccvii, 289).

⁸ See page references, note 4.

⁹ See below, p 216.

¹⁰ No 141.

¹¹ Obitt, given in Delisle's *Chronique de R de Torgny*, i, 107, note 1.

¹² c 1190, see *GC*, xi, *instr* col 210.

It was among such sordid wrangles that Arnulf at last departed to make his peace with God. Although he could not reply as the English bishop to those clerks who urged him to confess on his death-bed because he had been a counsellor of the king: 'Non aliter fui coram Rege quam Christus coram Pilato',¹ he could at least claim that he knew how heavy was the distrust of princes.² A defender of the true popes, a Crusader, a liberal giver and a builder, a pious kinsman and a friend of scholars, he might well hope to atone for the secularity of his life by a few years' retreat, 'as a pauper, following the pauper Christ',³

He had built himself lodgings and perhaps a chapel at St. Victor,⁴ and the company must have been congenial. Among the canons were Adam of St. Victor, one of the greatest medieval liturgical composers,⁵ Walter, the prior, who wrote an invective against Gilbert de la Porrée, Peter Lombard, and Peter de Poitiers,⁶ and Geoffrey, late sub-prior of the house of Ste. Barbe in the diocese of Lisieux, the author of many verses including the *Fons Philosophiae*, a rhymed poem in four books.⁷

Arnulf did not, however, live long to enjoy his retirement, for his health had been weak for some years past. He had written in 1178 to Cardinal Peter that he could not walk seven steps or mount a horse without help,⁸ and he died on 30 September, possibly in 1182,⁹ at St. Victor, when he was approaching his eightieth year, and was buried in that convent. Besides money, he left all his books, including many legal works, to the abbey, a cross, a chalice, silver vases and vestments.¹⁰ His name is mentioned lovingly in the obituary, and it was not soon forgotten, for in 1639 his portrait was put up in that fine library of St. Victor, among those of sixty-seven Victorines illustrious by rank, learning or piety.¹¹

Magnus ubique tamen vario celebrabar honore,
Illustri peregre, praecipuoque domi.¹²

¹ Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum*, 1, 138.

² See below, p. 67.

³ Below, p. 217.

⁴ 'suos dies dimidiaturus apud Sanctum Victorem in domibus pulcherrimis, quas ibi ad opus suum construxerat', Tongni, p. 298, and see below, p. 210.

⁵ L. Gautier, *Oeuvres poétiques d'Adam de St. Victor* (Paris, 1858-9).

⁶ *HL*, xiv, 549.

⁷ *HL*, xv, 69.

⁸ See below, p. 192.

⁹ For the month, see the Obit. The year of his death is given only by the *Annales Uticenses*, v, 163, where the *cui successit* rather weakens the date.

¹⁰ Obit, *loc. cit.*

¹¹ Jean de Thoulouze, quoted by Alfred Franklin, *Histoire de la bibliothèque de l'abbaye de St. Victor* (Paris, 1865), p. 49, note 4.

¹² Arnulf, poem no. 14.

§ 7 THE LETTERS

This collection of correspondence is no haphazard agglomeration of letters culled in modern times from many sources, but a collection made almost entirely in the twelfth century and partly by Arnulf himself. Nine-tenths of the letters which are printed here had already been brought together in a manuscript of the early thirteenth century,¹ and only one small independent collection has been found.² The nucleus of the corpus is a group of thirty-seven letters, for which Arnulf wrote a prefatory epistle³, but we can confidently ascribe the publication of the whole of the first and second edition collections of seventy-one letters to the author's activity.⁴ The only large collection for which Arnulf was not responsible is a group of forty letters, which we believe to have been assembled by Guy, prior of the Austin priory of Southwick in Hampshire, and which forms an appendix to Arnulf's work.⁵ Thus a large proportion of the letters comes from two early collections which were soon amalgamated, and the motives behind their assembly and the conditions under which they were made are not entirely a mystery.

Arnulf enjoyed fair renown as a *littérateur*, and it appears from his preface to the letters that he was urged to publish a collection by his friend Giles de la Perche, archdeacon of Rouen and later bishop of Évreux. Arnulf tells us that he had difficulty in assembling a representative group, as he had preserved no copies, and that he had to beg the return of his missives from the recipients. This cannot have been literally true, for letters to the pope occur in the most primitive redaction, and it is significant that the series begins from the earliest time at which Arnulf was in settled possession of his bishopric. It is hard to believe that Arnulf's friends only preserved his letters when he became bishop and destroyed those written when he was but an archdeacon, yet there seems no clear motive for fabricating such a statement. It is probably a pleasant exaggeration. But, however caused, the loss of the early letters is unfortunate. For Arnulf it meant the disappearance of his best prose; for us it means the loss of material which might have illuminated one of the obscurest periods of the Middle Ages.

It certainly appears that in 1166 Arnulf had not a large number

¹ St John's College, Oxford, no 126

² In MS Vatican, lat 6024. See below, pp lxxxii, seq. ³ Ep no 1

⁴ For the two editions, see below, pp. lxvii, seqq

⁵ See below, pp lxxxv, seq.

from which to select the letters he was to publish, and the composition of part of the *libellus*, as he calls it, may have been determined quite as much by chance as by choice. Still, modern letters must have been more numerous than the older ones, and he must have been able to exercise some discrimination. Before the lines on which he was likely to select his material can be suggested, the motives which lay behind the publication must first be examined.

At the time of the issue of the early collections of his correspondence, 1166-73, Arnulf's fame as a man of letters rested on his *Invectiva* and possibly also on his poems. Some of his sermons, too, were published between 1163 and 1170, and the issue of the sermon delivered at the Council of Tours in 1163 may even have preceded, and perhaps suggested the publication of his letters.¹ It is clear that Arnulf considered that the chief merit of his productions lay in their style, and that this view was shared by his readers is proved by the *marginalia* in the manuscripts.² In each preface Arnulf passes harsh judgments on the style of his compositions, but in the case of his letters he mentions no other quality which might make them of interest to his readers, although in his prefaces to the *Invectiva* and to the sermon preached at Tours he offers utilitarian reasons for their publication. This assumption is strengthened by the way in which Arnulf edited the correspondence. Owing to the fortunate preservation of a number of letters in the unedited state³ which are also represented in the regular edition we can gain some idea of the manner in which he treated them. Except in one case⁴ the textual alterations are not of great moment, but there is an occasional truncation: the polite introduction is retained, and the business details are excised. Five out of the twenty-five letters have been treated in this way, and it is clear that when Arnulf is responsible for the preservation of a text the letter may not always have been transmitted in its original form, but that compression may have been attained at the expense of details unlikely to interest the medieval reader. For Arnulf, then, his letters were proof of his ability as a writer, not as an administrator or judge, and as far as selection was possible it was probably exercised on those lines

¹ Each was dedicated to Giles, archdeacon of Rouen.

² The most rhetorical letter Arnulf has left, that written to a nun (no 5), seems to have been the most popular.

³ In MS Vat. lat 6024 (see below, pp lxxxii, seq.) Another example comes from a St. Victor, Paris, letter-book (see below, p 94, n b).

⁴ Ep no 53.

Thus in two ways their value to historians has been diminished

The other large collection, made, as we suppose, by Guy of Southwick, seems rather to have been determined in its character by the channels through which the letters were obtained than by any process of conscious selection.¹ Many of the letters were sent to or through Guy's bishop, Richard of Ilchester, and relate mainly to Arnulf's disgrace and the resignation of his church.

This dual origin of the present collection makes it unequal in character and in distribution. Between 1144 and 1166, when the first edition was prepared, the number of letters preserved from each year increases irregularly. The greatest density is in the years 1159-60, from which Arnulf had preserved the letters he wrote on behalf of Pope Alexander III at the time of the schism, but the last three years are also well represented. Then there is a lull. With the date of the production of the second edition approaching the number of letters preserved increases rapidly, and in the period 1170-3 there is a higher proportion than at any other time. Finally the forty letters from the Southwick collection come from but six years, 1175-81, and this is well above the average density.

The character of the letters also varies according to the period. It is notoriously difficult to classify medieval documents, because almost all are cast in the form of the letter, and classes shade into one another. But this collection is mainly composed of what can fairly be called private letters. Yet, although private, few of them are intimate or personal, and most fall into the rough category of business correspondence. In this we can roughly distinguish three types. Some form a category of diplomatic correspondence, and are due to Arnulf's important position, another section can be compiled from those arising out of the administration of the diocese, and a third small but distinct class is composed of reports to the pope on cases in which Arnulf had been judge-delegate. The distribution of these categories in the different periods is uneven. The first edition is notable for the diplomatic correspondence; the additional matter which appears in the second edition is extremely miscellaneous and contains a large proportion of administrative and judicial correspondence, and the Southwick collection divides sharply between personal letters and miscellaneous pieces. Thus in some ways the circumstances which determined the form of this collection of correspondence were favourable to diversity.

¹ See below, pp. lxxxv, seq.

A good many of Arnulf's letters have been noticed incidentally in the preceding pages, but some individual epistles and at least one category deserve special mention. Perhaps the most fascinating letter in the whole collection is that written to the papal chancellor, Roland Bandinelli, later Pope Alexander III, in which Arnulf describes the progress made in the king's household by Bandinus, a relative or protégé of Roland's, whom Arnulf had taken there to be educated among other noble youths.¹ No more intimate glimpse into the habits of the royal court at this time is given by anyone but Walter Mapes. Another letter which probably accompanied this gives an equally vivid account of some episodes in Arnulf's journey across Italy.² Of interest for quite different reasons is the communication addressed to Nicholas de Montiéramey, the rather shady prior of St. Jean Châtel, which is full of mysterious suggestions.³

Among the letters of a business nature many are concerned with monasteries, and the less reputable side of several establishments is revealed. Six letters are devoted to the affairs of St. Évrout,⁴ six to Grestain,⁵ two to Montivilliers,⁶ and one each to Jumèges,⁷ Bernay,⁸ St. Désir,⁹ Corneilles¹⁰ and Mortemer,¹¹ and there are references to Le Valasse and Chaelis.¹² Among these special mention must be made of the description of the almost incredible conditions at Grestain.¹³ The abbot lurked in England, living at ease on the monastic estates and indulging in unprofitable litigation, while the state of the monastery degenerated to a condition of unlicensed depravity. Battles with knives among the monks appear to have been frequent; the kitchen boy had his head split open because he suggested that a monk visited his wife too frequently, and in attempting to work a miracle the brethren killed a sick woman by immersing her in a well of icy-cold water over which incantations had been sung. The fare of the monastery pleased them not, for, protesting one feast day that the wine was not as strong as that they obtained at the inn, *velut facto agmine*, and leaving behind only four old men, with the bell ropes removed and the doors shut, they sought refuge from the inclement monastery by living at the tavern for several days while divine offices remained unsung. They treated the bishop with contempt, and rolled in the

¹ No 15² No 14³ No 66⁴ Nos 18, 19, 69, 70, 88 and 89⁵ Nos 45-9 and 113⁶ Nos 68 and 89⁷ No 17⁸ No 56⁹ No 67¹⁰ No. 100.¹¹ No 117¹² No 81¹³ No 49

mud the clerks whom he sent to establish fraternities in connexion with his new cathedral church. It is a severe reflection on the efficiency of the ecclesiastical administration that although Arnulf had obtained in 1166 papal authority for the abbot's deposition, by a policy of delay and appeal he was able to hold his office until his death in 1178. Evidence from Arnulf's letters for the condition of the clergy of the diocese is of the same 'police court' variety, and is not without interest.¹

Much that concerns the legal historian is also to be found in the correspondence. Two letters referring to the *privilegium fori*² have received close attention from modern investigators, and, for example, there is the interesting case of a criminal monk who abjures the monastery and *banleua* of Cormeilles.³ A more general point is the frequency with which Arnulf describes manoeuvres by litigants so as to enjoy the advantage given by possession.⁴

Finally attention must be drawn to one category of letters, Arnulf's reports as judge-delegate. Five of these statements have survived among the letters,⁵ and when the actual working of ecclesiastical courts in the twelfth century comes to be studied they will be of the greatest value. Nor should one of Arnulf's letters which arises out of such a case be overlooked.⁶ He writes to Henry de Sully, abbot of Fécamp, in great distress, because although he has, as often, inclined rather to Henry's side when hearing a case between the abbot and a poor man, and has persuaded the claimant to settle for a small sum, and even allowed the money to be paid at the abbot's convenience, Henry has frequently postponed payment, and the little which he has made over has been in the smallest coin and of the worst quality. This, apparently, was going too far.

Of letters Sir Roger Twysden wrote,⁷ 'for I know no man knowes what past in former tymes as well as by the Epistles then passed between learned men'. This is true for the Middle Ages; but then we see as through a glass darkly, catching unsubstantially at shadows which seem sometimes to form out of the baffling ambiguity of the language and the repellent impersonality of the style. It is almost a bloodless Arnulf that is here, *exsanguis umbra*, yet even through this shrunk form come vague rumours which were once life

¹ See epp nos 91, 102, 114, 115, 133 and 136

² Nos 114 and 116 ³ Ep no 100 ⁴ Below, pp 28, 116, 213, etc

⁵ Nos. 17, 65, 77-9, cf 64, 91, 104 and 113 ⁶ No. 80.

⁷ Letter quoted in the preface to Walter Mapes' *De Nugis Curialium* (ed. T. Wright, Camden Society, vol 1, 1850), p xiv

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The Plan of the Manuscripts

This is designed to show the contents of the various collections of letters and the relationship of the two editions compiled by Arnulf. The numbers in parentheses refer to the order in the other edition. References to the printed text can be obtained from the index of *incipits* on p. 219.

FIRST EDITION (A-D, except B ^s)		SECOND EDITION (E-H ²)	
1	(1) Epistolas que .	(1) Epistolas que	
2	(2) Litteras uestre	(2) Litteras uestre	
3	(3) Venerabilis frater	(3) Venerabilis frater	
4	(15) Post discessum	(5) Quotiens litteras	
5	(4) Quotiens litteras	(38) Sustulit uirum	
6	(10) Lator present Mr Simon	(39) Pro Sagensi	
7	(11) Petitionem	(16) Ad gerendam	
8	(12) Litteras iamdudum	(17) De aduentu	
9	(13) Pro causa	(18) Audiui te	
10	(18) Si ab adolescente	(6) Lator presentium Mr Simon	
11	(16) Bandinum	(7) Petitionem	
12	(17) Scire	(8) Litteras iamdudum	
13	(19) Pro Willelmo	(9) Pro causa	
14	(20) Dominus	(34) Adolescens	
15	(21) Super iniuria	(4) Post discessum	
16	(7) Ad gerendam	(11) Bandinum	
17	(8) De aduentu	(12) Scire	
18	(9) Audiui te	(10) Si ab adolescente	
19	(22) Benedictus deus & pater (Litteras a tua) ¹	(13) Pro Willelmo	
20	(23) Quanta tempestate	(14) Dominus	
21	(24) Audita sancte	(15) Super iniuria	
22	(25) Quam utilis	(19) Benedictus deus & pater (Litteras a tua) ¹	
23	(26) Grata michi	(20) Quanta tempestate	
24	(27) Est quiddam in quo .	(21) Audita sancte	
25	(28) Si ad uestrum . .	(22) Quam utilis	
26	(29) Quotiens aliquis .	(23) Grata michi	
27	(30) Quibus periculis	(24) Est quiddam in quo	
28	(31) Dominus	(25) Si ad uestrum	
29	(32) Regressus	(26) Quotiens aliquis	
30	(33) Lator presentium amicus	(27) Quibus periculis	
31	(34) Quartus decimus .	(28) Dominus	
32	(35) In quo uerbo ²	(29) Regressus	
33	(36) Quod aliquid .	(30) Lator presentium amicus	
34	(14) Adolescens	(31) Quartus decimus	
35	(37) Querimoniam	(32) In quo uerbo	
36	(38) Lator presentium filium	(33) Quod aliquid	
37	(39) Littere quas ²	(35) Querimoniam	

¹ Bull of Alexander III (1160)

² C³ inserts *Littere quas* after no. 32, and repeats *Ad gerendam*, which was given before as *Ad regendam*.

SERMONS ¹	FIRST EDITION	SECOND EDITION
38. (5)	Sustulit uirum	(36) Lator presentium filium
39. (6)	Pro Sagiensi	(37) Littere quas
40. (41)	Licet pro latore	(41) Confectus senio
41. (40)	Confectus senio	(40) Licet pro latore
42. (42)	Est in episcopatu cui	(42) Est in episcopatu cui
43. (43)	Quod dilectio	(43) Quod dilectio
44. (44)	Pro Simone ² .	(44) Pro Simone
45. (55)	Amici nostri ³	

B, *B*¹ & *B*³ add.
(Apostolici gradus) ⁴

*B*⁴ adds
VERSE
(Apostolici gradus)

A, *B*² and *C*¹ add
VERSE

*C*² adds
SERMONS

*C*³ adds
SERMONS
VERSE

<i>A</i> and <i>D</i> add	
46 Qua fide	<i>ibid</i>
47 Pro uenerabili patre	<i>ibid</i>
48 Personam domini Londoniensis	<i>ibid</i> ⁵
49 Benedictus deus qui	<i>ibid</i>
50 Venerunt ⁶	<i>ibid</i> ⁵
51 Super causa ⁷	<i>ibid</i> ⁸
52 Causam que inter uenerabilem	<i>ibid</i>
53 Nuntios	<i>ibid</i>
54 Quot scandala	<i>ibid</i>
55 Sicut electionem	<i>ibid</i>
56. Causam que inter Hermerium	

D adds
Amici nostri ⁹ . . . *ibid*.

¹ Omit, *C*² and *C*³

² Omit, *C*¹ and *C*²

³ Omit and insert after no 56, *D*

⁴ Letter of Henry, archbishop of Reims (1174).

⁵ Omit, *H*¹.

⁶ Glossed *vacat* in *A*

⁷ Letter repeated at no. 51 and after no 59

⁸ Omit, *H*¹ and *H*²

⁹ Transposed from no 45

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VERSE	FIRST EDITION	SECOND EDITION
57	Librum de eccles . . .	<i>ibid</i>
58	Lator presentium Roal . . .	<i>ibid</i>
59	Litteras discretionis . . .	<i>ibid</i>
	Super causa ¹	
60	Lator presentium Ior . . .	<i>ibid</i>
61	Super his pro . . .	<i>ibid</i>
62	Pro filio . . .	<i>ibid</i>
63	Duo sacerdotes . . .	<i>ibid</i> ²
64	Credimus . . .	<i>ibid</i>
65	Causam que inter Will . . .	<i>ibid</i>
66	Quantam michi . . .	<i>ibid</i>
67	Mandatum uestre . . .	<i>ibid</i>
68	Felicem me . . .	<i>ibid</i>
69	Est quiddam quod tam . . .	<i>ibid</i>
70	Philippum uestrum . . .	<i>ibid</i>
71	Memini me . . .	<i>ibid</i>
C ³ adds after no 45		F ¹ inserts
SERMONS		(Exemplum litterarum) ³
VERSE		(Celestis altitudo) ⁴
46	Arripuit iter	[<i>Papal bull re legation of Bald-</i>
47	(48) Personam dom Lond	<i>win, archbishop of Canterbury</i>
48	(47) Pro uenerabili patre	VERSE] ⁵
49	Quod auditum ⁶	
50	(59) Litteras discretionis	71 Magnam michi
51	Eboracensis arch	VERSE ⁷
52	(46) Qua fide	SERMONS ⁷
53	Personam domini Pict	72 Que detrimenta
54	(51) Super causa	73 Petitiones ⁸
55	(54) Quot scandala	74 Pro uiro uenerabili
56	(49) Benedictus deus qui	75 Causam uen fratris ⁸
57	(55) Sicut electionem	76 Monachus ille
58	Usurpauit abbatissa	77 Verum est
59	Inter abbatissam	(Causas que sue) ⁹
60	Lator present homo	78 Venturus eram
61	" " Mr Errard	
62	(62) Pro filio	
63	(60) Lator present Ior	H ¹ and H ² add
64	(67) Mandatum uestre	
65	(56) Causam que inter Hermer	79 Est in episcopatu Lex
66	(65) " " " Will	80 Quidam de canonicis

¹ Letter repeated at no 51 and after no 59

² Omit, H¹

³ Letter of Gilbert Foliot

⁴ Bull of Urban III

⁵ A gathering is lost, but the index supplies the information.

⁶ An addition to *Personam domini Lond* ⁷ F¹ gives the verse before *Magnam michi*, and the sermons at the end of the corpus, E, E¹ and F² give the verse and the sermons after no 78, H² omits the sermons

⁸ Omit, H¹

⁹ Miscellaneous document

FIRST EDITION	SECOND EDITION
67 (64) Credimus	
68 (53) Nuntios	
69 Litteras uestre maiestatis (Ad audientiam) ¹	<i>F</i> ¹ adds
70 (52) Causam que inter uen	
71 (50) Venerunt	79 Sicut uobis
72 (63) Duo sacerdotes	80 Orationis causa
73 Robertus Louet	81 Sicut nouit
74 Causam que inter Mr Anch	82 Quantum apud
75 In multis ad presens ²	83 Ad audientiam maiestatis
76 (71) Magnam michi	84 Si uenerit
77 Quanta sollicitudine (Circa mee) ³	85 Litteras penitentie
78 Electiones quas	86 Audita instanti
79 (57) Librum de ecclesiasticis	87 Quod ita
80 Pro electo Baton	88 Auxilium liberale
81 (70) Philippum uestrum	89 Ad concilium
82 Puerum uestrum	90 Quam diu
83 (68) Felicem me	91 Verbum super quo
84 (69) Est quiddam quod tam	92 Desideraui
85 (66) Quantam michi	93 Dudum me
86 (58) Lator present Roal	94 Diu est quod
	95 Quot et quanta
	96 Est quiddam quod inter
	97 Gratias uestre
	98 Ecclesiam cui
	99 Peruenit
	100 Est quiddam quod diu
	101 Delegauit
	102 Credo uos
	103 In episcopatu cui deo
	104 Quam sanctum
	105 Quando in partibus
	106 Latorem presentium
	107 Quid ego fecerim
	108 Litteras domini
	109 Misit michi
	110 Est apud uos
	111 Ricardus
	112 Motus est
	113 Orta est
	114 Est in episcopatu Lex
	115 Precepistis
	116 A multo tempore
	117 Dum adhuc
	(Temporis breuitas) ⁴
	118 Litteras uestre dignat
	SERMONS

(B⁵)

- 1 Litteras uestre
- 2 Querimoniam
- 3 Post discessum
- 4 De aduentu
5. Licet pro latore
6. Quotiens litteras (1st half)
- 7 Lator presentium Mr Simon
Porro quanto sincerior (2nd half of
no 6)

¹ Bull of Alexander III ² Blank reverse to the letter, and folio excused³ Letter of Giles, bishop of Evreux. ⁴ An anonymous excuse

Arnulf's letters are to be found in nineteen MSS., and they are always accompanied by a group of his sermons and often also by a collection of his poems. But his *Invectiva*, the only other work that has survived, is never present. The shortest corpus contains forty-five letters,¹ the longest 118, and between the two extremes are examples showing the growth of the collection. All the MSS. are of the end of the twelfth or of the beginning of the thirteenth centuries,² that is to say more or less contemporary, and there is not a great number of verbal variants. Nevertheless the *stemma* is reasonably clear.

As will be seen from the arrangement of the letters in the various MSS.,³ there are two distinct editions. The 1st Edition takes the form of an introductory epistle, addressed to Giles, archdeacon of Rouen, which we date about 1166, and forty-four letters⁴ divided by a group of sermons with its own preface, also addressed to Giles.⁵ An alien letter and a collection of Arnulf's poems sometimes follows the corpus.

In the dedication of the letters Arnulf says that he has collected his correspondence into a *libellus*, and that when he decided to do this he had no materials with him, so he wrote to his correspondents asking them to send him what they had.⁶ It is probable that Giles only received the thirty-six letters which precede the sermons⁷; but even then Arnulf's statement that the letters are *velut emendicatae* must be regarded as an exaggeration.⁸ Still, however formed, this tentative collection made about 1166, must have fallen by the wayside, and the more composite edition created shortly afterwards, for no MS of the primitive *libellus* has survived.⁹

This 1st Edition is represented by eleven MSS., which fall into three groups of cognates. Of these MSS a codex in the Bibliotheca

¹ Except the unique selection of letters in MS Regin., lat 189 (B⁵)

² Except MS Digby 209 (E¹), which is a copy of the earlier MS. Auct F 18 (E)

³ See the plan of the arrangement of the MSS

⁴ 45 if a bull of Pope Alexander III (*Litteras a tua*), which occurs in all the extant MSS., is counted

⁵ MSS Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 273 (C²) and Vat., lat 6024 (C³) collect the sermons at the end of the forty-four letters

⁶ See below, p 2

⁷ Marcel Bouteron, 'Arnoul, Evêque de Lisieux, Etudes', (*École nat des Chartes, Positions des thèses*, 1905), p 2

⁸ See above, p lxi

⁹ Cf. the fate of MS Vat., lat 6024, see below, pp lxxxii, seq

Nazionale, Turin (Pasinus no. cxxix), now listed D, iv, 32 (A), is one of the most important. Its antecedents are interesting, for it had passed into the possession of the monastery of St. Andrew, Vercelli, founded between 1219 and 1224 by the Cardinal Guala, at quite an early date.¹ It is a volume of fifty-nine folios, 25 by 16 cms, written in single column with twenty-seven lines to the page. *Incipit*, 'Arnulfus dei gratia' (2nd fo., 'quem eiusdem'), *explicit*, 'plenius continentes'. The text of the MS is very accurate, and, although a few unique readings make it improbable that it was actually the parent of the other 1st Edition MSS, it is certainly the closest to the archetype. Besides the ordinary 1st Edition contents, it has in addition a bundle of eleven letters, without titles and in another hand, added about 1172; but the importance of these will be discussed later.²

The largest group in this edition is composed of five MSS, whose homogeneity is proved by an obvious slip-gap that is common to all.³ The parent is a St Martin-des-Champs MS, now Paris, B.N., lat. 17468 (B), which contains Arnulf's letters and sermons between ff. 106 and 131. It is 29.5 by 21.5 cms, and written in double column. *Incipit*, 'Arnulphus dei gratia' (2nd fo., 'a quibus aliquo'); *explicit*, 'experietur euentus', and 'mutos loqui' (alien epistle). Of its dependent MSS, Cambrai 211 (B¹) is written in double column, and contains Arnulf's letters and sermons between ff. 143-80. It is 29 by 21 cms. The rubric, 'Liber Sancte Marie' and two words erased, occurs twice.⁴ *Incipit*, 'Arnulfus dei gratia' (2nd fo., 'ne nuntiauit'); *explicit*, 'experietur euentus', and 'mutos loqui' (alien epistle). Paris, B.N., lat. 15166 (B²), from St. Victor, 23 by 17 cms, is also written in double column, and has Arnulf's letters, sermons and verse between ff. 1 and 30. A folio has been removed, which causes the loss of part of the letters *Quotiens aliquis, Quibus periculus and Dominus*. *Incipit*, 'A., dei gratia' (2nd fo., 'paritati respondent'), *explicit*, 'experietur euentus' (letters), and 'commoriendo diem' (verse).

The other two MSS in this group, which are both in the Biblio-

¹ At the end of the MS, on fo. 59^v, in a new hand, is written, "Liber iste est Sancti Andree Vercell", etc.

² Below, pp. lxxiv, seqq.

³ See below, p. 45, n. 6.

⁴ Keener eyes have read, 'Sancte Marie de V', which has been interpreted as the Cistercian monastery of Ourscamp in the diocese of Noyon. This is certainly a likely attribution, for Arnulf was intimately connected with its daughter house of Mortemer (see above, p. xvi, n. 5).

thèque Nationale, Paris, lat. 14168 (B³) and lat. 2595 (B⁴), are distant from the others by having a common parent that is not extant.¹ The former, from the library of Séguier, via St. Germain-des-Prés, is 25 by 16.5 cms., and written in a small hand in double column. Arnulf's letters and sermons are between ff. 44 and 64. *Incipit*, 'Arnulfus dei gratia' (2nd fo., 'alia qualibet'), *explicit*, 'experietur euentus', and 'mutos loqui' (alien epistle). The titles are omitted up to fo. 49. The latter, from the royal library of Blois, is a handsome MS., 24 by 17.5 cms., with fine illuminated capitals using gold. It contains Arnulf's letters, sermons, and verse in the first forty folios, and is written in double column, with some fourteenth-century glossing. *Incipit*, 'Arnulfus dei gratia' (2nd fo., 'salua honestate'); *explicit*, 'experietur euentus', and 'mutos loqui' (alien epistle).

The second group is formed by three MSS., which share many peculiar readings, but are independent, and are obviously descended through a common parent which is not extant. Berne, no. 568 (C¹), contains Arnulf's letters, sermons and verse from fo. 121 to fo. 184, and is written in single column with twenty-seven lines to the page. *Incipit*, 'Epistolae quae', *explicit*, 'experietur euentus'. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, no. 273 (C²), 19 by 16 cms., contains Arnulf's letters, sermons and verse between ff. 198 and 227^v, which is a distinct section. It is written in single column and the initials are in red only. The sermons are incomplete. *Incipit*, 'Epistolae quae' (2nd fo., 'quanto proxime'), *explicit*, 'experietur euentus'. The third MS., Vatican, lat. 6024 (C³), has received much attention from historians.² It contains 211 folios, 23.4 by 15.8 cms. Written in divers hands in double column, it has Arnulf's correspondence between ff. 30 and 71, including a group of letters whose nature and importance is discussed below.³ *Incipit*, 'Epistolae quae' (2nd fo., 'reliquae macies'), *explicit*, 'copiam exhibere'. A binding error has split the letters, *Petitionem Baiocensis*, *Quanta tempestate* and *Litteras a tua*.

A short Vatican MS., Regin. 189 (B⁵), containing a selection of seven letters between ff. 3 and 8, also has the peculiar readings of the 1st Edition.

¹ They are independent MSS., but share some peculiarities.

² For detailed descriptions of the volume, see *Neues Archiv*, (1878) III, 150-1, Poupardin, 'Dix-huit lettres inédites' in *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, LXII (1902), and Z. N. Brooke, 'The Register of Mr. David' in *Essays in history presented to R. Lane Poole* (Oxford, 1927).

³ Pp. lxxxii, seq.

The remaining example of the 1st Edition, MS Paris, B N., lat 14763 (*D*), is of the greatest importance. It is a pleasant St. Victor MS, 30.5 by 20 cms, bound in green vellum with the arms of the convent on the front. A contemporary hand gives the contents on the end paper, 'In hoc uolumine continentur epistole Lexouiensis episcopi et speculum ecclesie', and Claude de Grandrue's additions are,¹ 'FF 7. [shelf mark], Sequentia habentur, scilicet primo epistole Arnulphi quondam Lexouiensis episcopi, inter quas habentur quedam metrisitaia ab eodem, a folio 1 usque 71 Speculum magistri Hugonis de Sancto Victore de misteris ecclesie, 73 Quidam tractatus de sacramento altaris, in quo ratio omnium que in officio misse habentur, 87. Expositio quedam simboli, 99 A, creditis quos ad. B, sola quare ? ut. C, 100'. The MS is in single column with twenty-nine lines to the page. A gathering is missing between ff 45 and 46.

This is rather a puzzling codex, for it has even more letters than the enlarged Turin MS (*A*), and has received considerable textual emendation. If we consider form, the arrangement of this MS as regards the ordinary specimens of the 1st Edition consists in the insertion of a bundle of letters between the penultimate and ultimate epistles, *Pro Simone* and *Amici nostri*. It is interesting to see that this same bundle of letters, ending again with the unfinished *Causam que inter Hermerium*, is the additional matter which is found in exactly the same order in *A* after the usual 1st Edition corpus and the verse.² Either, therefore, *D* or *A* has copied this new material from the other, or both have taken it from a third source. We believe that we can prove that *D* was copied directly from *A*, and, strangely enough, that the increment was copied in the reverse order, from *D* to *A*.

The evidence for the copying of the 1st Edition corpus in *D* from *A* is illustrated on the facing page.

The letter *Pro Simone*, which finishes towards the top of fo 51 in *D*, has the last four words, *donationis nomine non meretur*, omitted in the text, and added in the margin in a charter hand (diagram 2). With the separating of the last two 1st Edition letters in mind, we can imagine the scribe coming to the bottom of the page in the MS.

¹ See L. V. Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits* (Paris, 1868-81), II, 228.

² In *A* this increment occupies a distinct portion in the MS. The poems end with half a page left blank. Then these letters begin on a new gathering in a fresh hand, and have no titles.

DIAGRAM 1

MS A, fo. 46^v

line 27	soluere debeam non donare quia quod bene merenti rependitur illustrari
------------	--

DIAGRAM 2

MS D, fo 51

line 1	.
2	.
3	ex hoc nunc soluere debeam non donare quia quod bene meren- / donationis nomine non meretur
4	ti rependitur, illustrari, / <i>Ad Joh & Will cardinales pro Rogero Eboracen Archiepiscopo</i>
5	Qva fide quo studio quo effectu circa initia tempestatis

DIAGRAM 3

MS A, fo 47

line 1	donationis nomine non meretur <i>Ad henricum fiscannensem abbatem</i>
2	Amici nostri qui diebus istis ierusalimam profecti sunt ex equite me peditem red-

DIAGRAM 4

MS D, fo 58

line 1	ua	cat
2	donationis nomine non meretur; <i>Ad Henricum Fiscanens abbatem</i>	
	Amici nostri qui diebus 'tis ierisolimam profecti sunt ex equite	cat

lv

he is copying, for instance, *A* (diagram 1), and, thinking that he has come to the end of the letter *Pro Simone*, for the last four words are obscured by the rubric of the next letter at the top of the facing page (diagram 3), inserting a marker in the copy, and turning to the bundle of letters he is going to insert at this point. He estimates the space they will require, counts this off in his gathering, and, opening his copy-MS again at the marker, continues copying where he had left off, the top of the facing page, which begins with the four words he had erroneously omitted before (diagram 3) ¹

This is, indeed, what we find in *D*, and fo 58 commences with the four words omitted from the end of the letter *Pro Simone*, and they are marked with a *vacat* (diagram 4). When we turn to *A*, we find that the conditions also are as postulated (diagrams 1 and 3). So, unless we are to conceive of non-extant intermediate MSS with this error uncorrected, and exactly the same spacing—an almost impossible condition—we must believe that *D* was directly copied from *A*. There is no question of its having been done by the same scribe, for the hands are quite distinct, and, while some peculiarities of spelling are reproduced or emended,² each text is individual and has recurrent peculiarities of its own.³ It is true that the present location of these MSS does not favour such a hypothesis, but the evidence does not lend itself to any other interpretation.

When it is established that the first part of *D* has been copied from *A*, it is strange to find that the additional letters were probably taken by *A* from *D*. *A*'s text of this increment is uncharacteristically inaccurate, and we can start by assuming that the text in *D* could not have been copied from *A* because there are erroneous omissions in *A* which are filled up without any disorder in *D*. We are helped here by the fact that *C*³ includes all these letters in its *additamenta*,⁴ and that its text is in quite a different tradition. It appears to transmit the original form of the letters, and so a

¹ Unless we postulate this order of copying, it is difficult to account for the truncation of the letter *Causam que inter Hermerium* at the bottom of a page within a gathering in *D*.

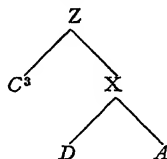
² Notice the characteristic example in diagrams 3 and 4—*ierusolimam*.

³ The spelling *neglegens* is very common in *A*. *D* usually repeats it, but it is frequently emended by expunction. The scribe of *D* usually turns *o* in *A* into *cum*, e.g. *cummodo*, *cummodius*; this too, has been almost invariably altered later. A peculiarity of *D*'s scribe is his weakness for the double *ss*, e.g. *gaussus*, *asscribe*.

⁴ See below, p. lxxxii

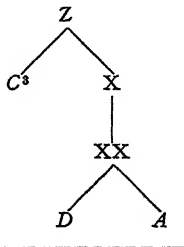
special draft (X) must have been made by Arnulf when preparing this batch of correspondence for regular publication

In that case it could be imagined that both *D* and *A* took these pieces from the draft. The readings of *D* and *A* certainly vary



collectively not a little from those of *C*³, although many of the common erroneous variations have been corrected in *D*, probably by collation. Textual evidence, however, does not entirely support this diagram. In such a case one would expect to find that each MS. had some peculiar readings—i.e. *C*³, *D* > *A* and *C*³, *A* > *D*, as well as the more general *A*, *D* > *C*³. *A* certainly has many individual readings, but none of these is ever supported by *C*³ against *D*. This certainly discredits the diagram, unless it can be believed that *D* is an absolutely perfect copy of *X*.

Even if the textual objection is disregarded, a greater one arises from the truncation of the letter *Causam que inter Hermervum*. Both *D* and *A* abandon the letter at the same point in the middle of a sentence. If one was not copied from the other, each must have been copied from a defective MS. It is quite incredible that the actual draft (X) should have had this defect, for *C*³ gives the full letter. So, unless we are to postulate at least one more lost MS, we must believe that the truncation occurred in *D*, as previously suggested,¹ and that *A* derived the text of these letters from *D*. In other words, *XX* is *D*.



¹ Above, p lxxvi, and n. 1

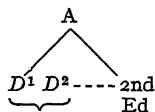
Our conclusions are, then, that the bulk of *D* (the 1st Edition corpus) was engrossed directly from *A*, and that its increment was copied from the draft into the space left for it between the penultimate and ultimate letters of the 1st Edition corpus, thus causing the loss of part of the last letter of the increment. Then, either the return of *A* was demanded by its lender, or it was given away, and, before leaving, the new material was hurriedly copied into it from *D*. As a result its text of the increment was careless, it was never corrected, and received no rubrication.

We have taken such pains to show that the main part of *D* was directly copied from *A* because of the peculiarity of its text. It has been worked over to create a new version, and, while originally a very careless copy, it has been corrected and altered by another hand. The alterations consist in a certain amount of explanatory glossing, stylistic changes, the marking of an incomplete and of a repeated letter with a marginal *vacat*, a change in the address of one letter,¹ and a marginal numeration which is an attempt both at a more chronological order and at a more thorough absorption of the accretions. The codex is, therefore, equivalent to two MSS, the original text (*D*¹) and the amended version (*D*²).

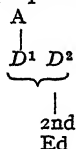
When it is found that these alterations are the distinctive features

¹ This letter, *Quam utilis*, ep no 29, provides a problem. Written in 1160 (see above, p xl), it contains a long description of the disputed election of Alexander III to the papacy. The 1st Edition MSS address it to the bishops Gilbert of London, Hilary of Chichester and William of Norwich, and, when cardinals are mentioned, they are referred to in the 3rd person. The unique Vatican codex (*C*³) has the same title, but refers to the cardinals in the 2nd person. *D*¹ had the 3rd person readings, but they are altered to the 2nd person in *D*², and the letter is addressed to the Roman cardinals. This is characteristic of the 2nd Edition. From the sense there can be no doubt that the letter was originally sent to the cardinals. If it were a mere confusion of title there would be no problem. But rubrication followed engrossing, and it is in any case unlikely that the scribe would change the readings to agree with the title. We must suppose then that there were two forms of the letter, and, although primarily written to the cardinals, it was also used by Arnulf to acquaint the English church with the events at Rome. The 1st Edition took the *ad hoc* version because it was the more accessible, and the original form was restored in *C*³ because of the special nature of that codex, but *C*³ received the 1st Edition address because the rubricator was following a normal copy. We learn otherwise that this rubricator was working mechanically, for he did not realize that there was a disorder in the MS (see above, p lxvii, n 2), and gave the title of *Littere quas to Sustulit urrum*. This error, however, was corrected.

of the MSS. of the 2nd Edition, two hypotheses suggest themselves : either that the alterations here are the result of collation,



or that they are the actual preparation for the second recension.



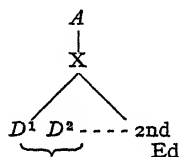
In favour of collation it may be said that both corrections and alterations occur in a similar hand, that the *vacats* are indicative, and that just a very few errors persist in the text. Non-committal evidence is that all extant MSS. of the 2nd Edition have nine additional letters at the end, and that their order varies once from the numeration given in the margin of *D*.

Nevertheless the 2nd Edition was derived from such a codex as *D*, for it absorbs the new material in the form in which it appears there and nowhere else, and the basis must have been at least a sister MS. Also written alterations must have been made in one copy, for it is unlikely that two such distinct textual traditions should have arisen naturally in such a short time. Moreover *D*¹ must very soon have been brought up to date, for it has the characteristic rubrics of the 2nd Edition, which shows that it was emended while in an incomplete state.

There is, however, a quantity of evidence which proves definitely that *D*² is the actual draft for the 2nd Edition. First of all a minute examination of the MS. shows that although there are marginal indications, which have been partially erased, for the correcting of the errors, no trace of such a guide can be found for the alterations. This suggests that the scribe first corrected by collation, and then altered and emended as a second process, probably under Arnulf's direction. Significant, too, is the fact that all MSS. of the 2nd Edition share a common slip gap in the letter *Causam que inter Willelmum*,¹ for this should have been emended reciprocally if there

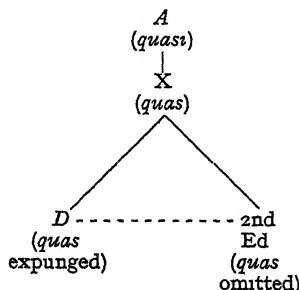
¹ See below, p. 130, note 8. The second *possessio* is in the next line practically under the first in *D*, making such a slip easy.

had been collation. Moreover there are cases when the text of *D* varies from the text of *A* and of the 1st Edition MSS without any sign of erasion. If *D* was copied from *A* this is conclusive proof that these particular 2nd Edition readings arose from the carelessness, caprice or judgment of the scribe of *D*. If we are still not convinced that *D* was copied directly from *A*, the following interpretation of the evidence is indicated.



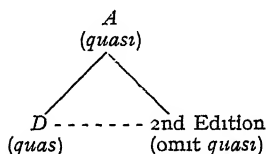
But fairly conclusive evidence can be brought against this diagram, and evidence which proves that the theory of a simple collation is impossible.

The first case comes from ep. no. 47 (see below, p. 83, note 14). We are helped here because the MS *C*³ offers a text which is quite independent of all the other MSS. A reading *quasi* appears in *C*³, *A*, and also in the other 1st Edition MSS. In *D* it appears as *quas*, which makes nonsense, and has been expunged. In the 2nd Edition MSS. the word does not appear at all. Now the retention of *quasi* gives the best sense to the passage, and it is undoubtedly the original reading. It is, therefore, most probable that its omission in the 2nd Edition is due to its faulty transcription in *D*. To avoid this natural conclusion we can again postulate the reconstruction given earlier:



But it is a very complicated and unlikely theory to explain a simple

phenomenon. In any case the theory of a simple collation will not hold, for it depends on too great a coincidence



The second example comes from ep. no. 11 (see below, p. 16, note 3). *A* and the 1st Edition MSS have the reading *duplici statim cepit*. *D* and the 2nd Edition MSS give *duplici cepit statim*. But in *D* the text reads *duplici statim cepit statim*. It is incontrovertible that the transposition occurred in *D* in the very process of copying. Two natural explanations come to mind: either that the scribe erroneously repeated *statim* and then crossed the wrong one out, or that after correctly writing *statim cepit* he disliked the order, repeated *statim*, and crossed the first one out. In any case this seems to be the origin of the change of order repeated in the 2nd Edition MSS. To support the theory of the MS. X it would be necessary to postulate that the transposition was made there by marks—*duplici "statim" cepit*, and that for a moment the scribe of *D* overlooked the marks. But this, again, is putting a complicated hypothesis for a simple one, and it would be perverse to accept it. Nor again can this example be explained by any theory of collation.

Thus in each case the position is simplified and made more credible if *D* is substituted for the hypothetical X. In fact *D*² is shown to be X, and is revealed as the actual draft from which the 2nd Edition sprang.

The reasons for the production of a new recension are not difficult to see. The corpus was growing in snowball fashion, and was both disorderly and unsightly. The text also was becoming corrupt. The *terminus a quo* for the date of the codex is 1172, and we must believe that shortly after that year Arnulf turned again to his literary remains, and produced a text which was both more orderly and more accurate, and also more in accord with his stylistic taste of that period.

The first printed edition of Arnulf's letters, that of Claude Mignault in 1585 at Paris from Turnèbe's transcript, was taken uncritically

and rather inaccurately ¹ from this MS., and all later editions have been reprints of his text. Whereas then chance suggested, now importance demands that this codex should receive prime consideration, and it has been used again here as the basis of the text.

Before we turn to the surviving copies of the 2nd Edition, a unique corpus claims our attention. The Vatican MS. Vat., lat 6024 (C³), which has already been cursorily discussed,² contains an example of the 1st Edition with considerable *additamenta*. A letter near the end of the collection, written by Arnulf to Peter of Pavia, bishop of Meaux, and dated 1171-3, had accompanied copies of letters which Arnulf had had engrossed at Peter's request, gathering them together, having them copied with all speed, and corrected in his presence while the messenger waited.³ The part specially written for Peter must be the thirty-one letters which follow the copy of the 1st Edition, and twelve additional letters, including the one already discussed, were probably added by the recipient when they came his way.⁴ From the MS, which is written in divers hands, it cannot be determined whether Arnulf himself had the letters copied on to the example of the 1st Edition, whether Peter had that done on receipt, or even if it was done by a third compiler.⁵

Its increment of forty-one letters is of the greatest importance, for they all seem to have been engrossed directly from copies of letters in their original form and to have suffered no editing.⁶ Sixteen of them are unique, and the others appear in part in the Turin MS. (A), and entirely in D, the draft for the 2nd Edition

¹ For instance, he did not realize that a gathering was missing in the MS, and he printed without hiatus or correction. This has been rectified in some reprints. He failed entirely to see the significance of the excision of 4 words from the end of the *Pro Simone* letter (see above, p lxxv), and, although he took the marginal correction there, he did not notice the *vacat* when the words occurred again at the end of *Causam que inter Hermervum*, although the *cat* of the cancellation made him change the last word from *meretur* to *mereat*. The reprinters, and Giles in the latest edition, reproduce this confusion uncorrected.

² Above, p lxxxi.

³ Ep no 82.

⁴ There is a blank verso to fo 64, and the later letters include one of Giles, bishop of Evreux.

⁵ The first part of the codex is not without its peculiarities, see above, p lxxviii, n 1. This suggests that Arnulf sent the whole collection, making this one correction in the first part.

⁶ Thirty-four of these letters have an address instead of a title; ep. no 54 is divided into two separate letters, and there are increments to epp. nos 63, 76, 79, 89 and 91. Also D's address to ep no 77 is corrected.

This raises the question of the relation between *C*³ and *D*. They were both produced at about the same time. The Vatican codex has sixteen letters which are not in the Paris MS, and the latter has two that are not in the former. There is no similarity in the order of the letters in the two increments, and they are clearly quite independent. It is probable that Peter had heard that Arnulf was re-editing his letters, and, owing to the haste of his request for an example, received a makeshift copy.

The 2nd Edition, represented by eight extant MSS., shows as much development in arrangement as the 1st, although within narrower limits. We have proved that *D*² was the draft for this edition, but none of the MSS. has such a simple form. The unique and enlarged St John's College, Oxford, codex (*F*¹), however, retains traces of it.

It is a St Mary, Southwick, MS, 22.5 by 15.5 cms, containing Arnulf's letters, etc., in the first sixty-nine folios, and the corpus is preceded by a mutilated contemporary index of the contents. A gathering is lost between ff 42 and 43. *Incipit*, 'Epistolas que' (2nd folio, 'ut ducem'), *explicit*, 'quin expiret' (letters), and 'incarnari' (sermons). The codex, which is written in single column, consists of a rearrangement of *D*, according to the indications in that MS., with the addition of some alien material before the verse. After the verse are found nine pieces, including a miscellaneous document, followed by a collection of forty letters which is discussed later.¹

This composition may be interpreted as showing that a codex in the simple form of a rearranged *D* was copied, the foreign material added, the collection brought up to date by the addition of the bundle of nine pieces common to all the MSS. of the 2nd Edition, and finally the codex was uniquely enlarged.² But, even though the simple form existed, it was quickly superseded, just as in the case of the *libellus*,³ and the more composite corpus taken as standard.

¹ Pp. lxxxv, *seq*

² The addition of the 9 pieces and of the increment occurred at the same time. There is no break of any kind between them. There is, however, a decisive break before the 9 pieces, for the letter *Magnam michi* begins on a new gathering in a fresh hand.

³ See above, p. lxxxi

The other seven MSS fall into two groups of cognates. Paris, B.N., lat 13219 (G), from St Germain-des-Prés is 23.5 by 14.5 cms, and contains Arnulf's letters, etc, from ff. 28 to 87. Between ff. 86 and 87 two folios are excised. It is written in single column with small, tightly packed script, and the capitals are in red only. *Incipit*, 'Epistolas que', *Explicit*, 'et inclinet'. A Vatican MS Ottobon., lat 3079 (H), is a volume of forty folios, and contains nothing but Arnulf's works. It is mutilated and stained towards the end. Written in double column, the MS contains some charter hand, and only the first twenty-six letters have titles and initials. *Incipit*, 'Epistolas que' (2nd folio, 'tuoque desiderio'). Paris, B.N., lat 491 (H¹), from the abbey of Foucarmont, is 30.5 by 23 cms, and is written in double column. Arnulf's letters, etc, are between ff. xcix and clx (contemporary foliation). *Incipit*, 'Epistolas que' (2nd folio, 'rerum maiestas'), *explicit*, 'malicia detrimentis'. The last MS. in this group, Paris, B.N., lat. 2596 (H²), 33.5 by 23.5 cms, has seventy-seven pages written in double column, and contains little but Arnulf's works. *Incipit*, 'Epistolas que' (2nd folio, 'spiritus meus'), *explicit*, 'malitia detrimentis' (letters) and 'assimilatus sum' (of 2 folios of unidentified material).

These MSS collect the verse and sermons after one letter additional to the simple re-arrangement of D, and then give a further bundle of eight pieces.

The other group of three cognate MSS. shows a more advanced development, and the verse and sermons are collected at the end of the corpus. Two Bodleian Library, Oxford, codices are dependent. Auct F, 1, 8 (E) is a large and spacious MS., 33 by 24 cms, and contains Arnulf's letters, etc, between ff. 100 and 120^v. It is written in double column. *Incipit*, 'Epistolas que' (2nd folio, 'ctus est'); *explicit*, 'et inclinet' (letters), 'commoriendo diem' (verse) and 'incarnari' (sermons). Digby 209 (E¹) is a direct copy of the whole of the former, and is of similar specifications. The MS. is of later date than all the others, and seems to be of the late thirteenth century. It has Arnulf's letters, etc., between ff. 103 and 123^v. 2nd folio *incipit*, 'Amor enim'. A Vatican MS Reg. in, lat 244 (F²), 25.5 by 23.5 cms, contains Arnulf's letters, etc, in the first forty folios. It is written in single column, with some charter hand, and all the initials are omitted, together with a few titles near the end. Its sermons are incomplete. *Incipit*, 'Epistolas que' (2nd folio, 'mentes et linguas').

The form of the codices, when compared with D, makes it probable

that they all came through a common parent, and the collective way in which the textual readings sometimes vary from that same draft supports the hypothesis. The archetype, however, does not seem to be extant. Exact classification of the MSS is difficult, because there has been a certain amount of collation between the codices, but the evidence from arrangement is fully supported by the readings, and the stem is dichotomous. On one side *G* seems to be in some sort of parental position to the group *H*, *H*¹ and *H*², and, on the other, *E* has a similar position. In this latter group the relation is complicated because the enlarged *F*¹ seems originally to have been copied from a more primitive codex, and to have received textual emendation when its contents were increased. Like *E* it has a number of variant readings, but its text is much less accurate.

Three of the 2nd Edition MSS have increments. *H*¹ and *H*² give two additional letters at the end, and one of these is included in the fine collection of forty otherwise unique letters given in the St John's College MS (*F*¹) after the usual 2nd Edition corpus. The two letters in *H*¹ and *H*² date from 1180 to 1181, and all the pieces in the *F*¹ collection come from the years 1175-81, and deal largely with Arnulf's difficulties with the king.

Richard of Ilchester, bishop of Winchester from 1173 until his death in 1188, was Arnulf's greatest friend in his later years, and many of these letters are addressed to him, and many passed through his hands. It is, therefore, interesting to connect MS *F*¹ with the diocese of Winchester. It belonged to the Austin priory of Southwick in Hampshire,¹ and the prior there c. 1190-1217 was Guy, a literary figure about whom we know too little. Bound up with the Arnulf collection is a *florilegium* of John of Salisbury's letters made by Guy. In the introduction to this work it is stated that Guy, when he was a canon of Merton (also in the diocese of Winchester), had helped John in the collection and editing of his correspondence and had enjoyed his friendship.²

¹ Ascription on fo 151^v. For the priory, see *VCH Hampshire*, II, 164, *seqq*.

² The rubricated introduction to the *florilegium* (fo 79) is as follows: 'Incipit compendiosa defloratio ex libro epistolarum magistri Iohannis Saresberiensis, qui postmodum fuit episcopus Carnotensis, super causa beati Thome martyris a Guidone priore Suwicense diligenter excerpta. Que studiose dictare uolentibus tum pro modo scribendi, tum pro sententiarum elegantia, tum pro causa prescripti martyris declaranda non erit inutilis. Predictus autem liber epistolarum a prescripto magistro Iohanne post prefati martyris

One is tempted to think that Guy published the unique collection of Arnulf letters. He probably found a 2nd Edition copy at Merton,¹ and would naturally be interested in a bishop who had retired to an Augustinian house. He was then in a good position to collect further letters. His own bishop would be able to furnish many, and he had the connexion of his Order with St Victor, Paris, besides contact with others who were important in ecclesiastical circles.²

* * * * *

In preparing a text for publication the obvious choice as base was *D*², the draft for the 2nd Edition. *A* has been collated to show the peculiarities of the 1st Edition, and *E* too has been collated because there is such an independent tradition in the 2nd Edition that the possibility of the archetype, the descendant of *D*², having also received editorial emendation could not be ruled out. The enlarged example of the 1st Edition, *C*³, has also provided valuable collation from its increment. The text of the eight letters added by the 2nd Edition MSS has been supplied by *E*, and *G* has been collated. Additional and unique letters have been taken from *C*³, *H*¹ and *H*², and from *F*¹, and a few pieces are supplied by other collections of correspondence.

Most of the letters which deal with the Becket dispute also occur in contemporary collections of Becket correspondence.³ Robertson has produced excellent conflated texts based on these MSS in his *Materials for the history of Thomas Becket*, and his text has been collated when necessary. One letter, which appears solely in the collections and not in the Arnulf MSS,⁴ has been reprinted from Robertson's text for the sake of convenience.

passionem in unum corpus diligenter et breuiter est collectus, et in un^{or} uolumina luculenter ac studiose diuisus. Porro in eiusdem libri collectione et diuisione ac emendatione iam dictus prior, tunc canonicus Mereton, memorato magistro Iohanni comes indiuiduus ac familiaris adhesit. It must be remembered that John's brother, Richard, became a canon at Merton (Webb, *John of Salisbury*, p. 2).

¹ Inserted in the text of *F*¹, before the verse (see plan on p. lxix above), are two letters touching the bishop of London. These would be more readily obtained at Merton than at Southwick.

² Becket had received schooling at Merton, and the importance of the priory in this period is shown by several references in the Becket correspondence.

³ For a description of these MSS., see Robertson's introduction to vol. v of the *Materials*.

⁴ Ep. no. 72.

§ 9 REJECTION OF LETTERS ASCRIBED TO ARNULF

Three letters, *Vix apud dominum* (Giles, 35), *Drutius expectavi* (G, 36) and *In otio laboroso* (G, 37), which are also printed in *Materials*, v, 160 and 315, and vi, 22, have been ascribed by those editors to Arnulf, although Robertson suspected *Vix apud*. They appear in none of the collections of Arnulf's letters, and, judging by their distinctive ending, 'Charissime Pater et domine bene valete', are evidently by one hand. Apart from the fact that Arnulf never uses such an ending in his other letters to Archbishop Thomas Becket, the address, 'Suus Ernulfus' and 'Ernulfus fidehum ejus minimus', is both unsuitable and contrary to his usual practice, 'Arnulfus, dei gratia Lexoviensis ecclesie humilis minister'. The supposed authorship of the letters can be rejected unhesitatingly, and a reasonable ascription is to the Ernulf who was Becket's secretary.

Tanto tempestivius (G, 62), in the names of the archbishop of Rouen and Arnulf, occurs in none of the Arnulf collections, and in all of the Peter of Blois MSS. Peter accompanied them as secretary on this legation, and it is most likely that he wrote the letter.

Circa mee uocationis (Poupardin, 11) was written by Giles, bishop of Évreux.

Marcel Bouteron, 'Arnoul, évêque de Lisieux, études' (*École nat des Chartes. Positions des thèses*, 1905), p. 3, ascribes the letter *Lator presentium magister Willelmus* (MS. Vat., lat. 6024, fo. 148) to Arnulf, but there seems no justification for this.

Temporis breuitas (G, 131) is alien matter in the St. John's College MS., and *Causas que sive* (G, 90) is hardly a letter. It is usually addressed, *Universis*, etc.

§ 10 PRINTED EDITIONS

MIGNAULT, Claude, (Minos), *Epistolae Arnulphi Episcopi Lexoviensis nunquam antehac in lucem editae, ex bibliotheca Odonis Turnebi Hadriani F.*, (Paris, 1585), printing Turnebe's transcription of MS. Paris, BN, lat. 14763

Reprinted

La Bigne, M. de, *Magna bibliotheca veterum patrum* (Cologne, 1618), vol. 12, pt. 2 (Paris, 1654), vol. 3

Maxima bib. vet. pat. (Lyons and Genoa, 1677), vol. 22

Giles, J. A., 'Arnulfi Lexoviensis episcopi Epistolae' in *Patres ecclesiae anglicanae* (Oxford, 1844), altered and collated haphazardly with

Oxford MSS , enlarged from other printed collections, and augmented from the St John's College, Oxford MS

Reprinted

Migne, J P , *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series latina*,
vol 201 (Paris, 1855)

FRAGMENTARY

D'Achery, L , *Spicilegium* (Paris, 1723), vol 3, after MSS Paris, B N ,
lat 2596 and 491

Bouquet, M , *Recueil des historiens*, vol 16 (Paris, 1813), following earlier
editors and MSS Paris, B N , lat 5320 and 5372

Liverani, F , *Spicilegium Liberianum* (Florence, 1863), pt 1, after MS Vatican,
lat 6024

Poupardin, R , 'Dix-huit lettres inédites', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*,
vol 63 (Paris, 1902), rediscovering, but by no means superseding, Liverani's additions

ISOLATED LETTERS appear in many compilations, as

Duchesne, F , *Historiae Francorum scriptores* (Paris, 1636-49), vol 4, after
MS Vatican, Regin , lat 179

Labbe, P , and Cossart, G , *Sacrosancta concilia*, vol 11 (Paris, 1671)

Lupus, C , *Epistolae et Vita Divi Thomae martyris*, etc (Brussels, 1682)

Martène, E , and Durand, U , *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, vol 1 (Paris,
1717), after MS Paris, B N , lat 14192

Robertson, S C , *Materials . Becket* (London, 1881-5), after MSS Vat ,
lat 6024, etc

INTRODUCTION

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§ II CONCORDANCE OF PRINTED EDITIONS

Giles	Present edition	Giles	Present edition	Giles	Present edition	Poupar- din	Present edition
1	1	49	62	96	101	1	49
2	2	50	37	97	102	2	75
3	3	51	47	98	103	3	61
4	4	52	48	99	108	4	68
5	6	53	50	100	105	5	67
6	8	54	97	101	121	6	58
7	7	55	72	102	123	7	41
8	9	56	54 ^a	103	130	8	64
9	11		& 54 ^b	104	122	9	65
10	15	57	84	105	124	10	71
11	5	58	60	106	118	11	
12	16	59	63	107	119	12	92
13	17	60	69	108	120	13	94
14	22	61	77	109	131	14	82
15	13	62	55	110	126	15	89
16	26	63	56	111	132	16	86
17	14	64	79	112	115	17	73
18	23	65	87	113	133	18	74
19	18	66	52	114	134		
20	19	67		115	112		
21	24	68	88	116	116		
22		69	96	117	125		
23	28	70	99	118	135		
24	29	71	137	119	136		
25	30	72	53	120	111		
26	27	73	93	121	128		
27	20	74	85	122	129		
28	21	75	66	123	114		
29	10	76	83	124	117		
30	33	77	70	125	127		
31	35	78	76	126	113		
32	38	79	81	127	138		
33	36	80	80	128	140		
34	42	81	78	129	141		
35		82	51	130	139		
36		83	86	131			
37		84	91				Present edition
38	44	85	95	<i>Materials</i>			42
39	32	86	89	clxi			54 ^a &
40	43	87	90	dxxix			54 ^b
41	40	88	98				55
42	34	89	100	dlxvii			59
43	39	90		dccxxxi			57
44	45	91	106	dccxxxiii			72
45	46	92	109	dccxxxviii			60
46	25	93	110	dcclix .			84
47	31	94	104	dccix .			87
48	12	95	107	dccxciii			

§ 12 EXPLANATORY NOTES ON THE EDITING

The spelling of the MSS has been followed, but manifest errors have been corrected in the text, and the MS reading given in the notes. Lacunæ due to mutilation have been restored in parentheses () and erroneous omissions supplied in square brackets []. The text thus reconstructed is the basis of comparison with the collated MSS. Extensions of abbreviated place-names are expressed by italic letters. The punctuation is my own.

The italic capital letters in the margin at the beginning of the letters refer to the MSS used in the preparation of the text, the MSS. following the semi-colon being collated against the first, to which the marginal foliation refers. Where roman numerals appear at the head of a letter they are taken from the principal text and are contemporary. A dual footnote apparatus has been used, numbers for textual, and letters for explanatory notes. Orthographical differences in the collated MSS. have not been noticed, and erasures and alterations are indicated only if considered to be significant.

The arrangement of the letters is an attempt at a chronological order, although occasional deviations have been made when it has been considered better to group the correspondence dealing with some particular subject. Dates which are deduced solely from the position of the letter in the MSS are given in italics, although in many cases both internal and external factors contribute to the assignment.

1. To Giles de la Perche, archdeacon of Rouen.^a

[c 1166] D^a, E,

Prima Arnulfus, dei gratia *Lexoviensis* ecclesie¹ humilis mini- fo 1
ster, dilecto suo Egidio, *Rothomagensi* archidiacono, salutem²

Epistolas, que aliquando diuersis a me sunt destinate personis, He has
in libellum redigi,^b tuoque desiderio postulas exhiberi. Adqueuis- his lette
sem libentius si scirem quod eas esses quasi furtiuum aliquid habi- sends th
turus, quia in lucem prodire proprie imperfectionis conscientia non Giles at
presumunt. Timeo enim, si publicis exponantur aspectibus, ne request
lectorem ieiune macies orationis offendant, michique ad iactantiam Modest
reputetur edicio, quam tamen non fastus ostentationis elicit, sed disclaim
instancia tue caritatis extorsit. Decreueram eas futuris non re-
seruare temporibus, sed omni protinus abdicare memoria, quia non
satis de cultu sermonis uel sententiarum peritia confidebam.
Mallero siquidem eas tenebris dampnasse perhennibus quam ridendi
materiam inuidie prestitisse, que eo securius aliena subsannat quia
sua simili periculo non exponit. Non enim ceteri nos uel nostra
tuis oculis intuentur, a quo, si quid in nobis bonum est, magnificatur
attentius, et imperfectioni uenia facilis indulgetur. Animi siquidem
eorum, quos odii sibi uel inuidie uendicauit affectio, sicut benigni-
tatem indulgentie nesciunt, sic rationis iudicium non attingunt,
sed omnia metiuntur affectibus, nichil sua meritorum estimatione
taxantes. Ego itaque uoluntati tue deesse non audeo, ne forte
uerecundiam negligentiam putes, quia, sicut alternus amicitia conua-
lescit obsequis, sic alterutrus incuria procedente laxatur

¹ om, A.

² om, E

^a Nephew of Archbishop Hugh of Rouen (Fitz Stephen, *Materials*, III, 27), archdeacon of Rouen 1143-70, bishop of Evreux 1170-9. He also received the dedication of Arnulf's sermons (Ed Giles, p 1).

^b The *terminus a quo* for the date of the *libellus* (see above, p lxxi) is 1165, and the *terminus ad quem* 1170, the year in which Giles became bishop. There is ample evidence that Arnulf retired temporarily from public affairs in 1166 (see above, p. xlv1).

The letters have been collected from the recipients. The earlier ones, which were the best, have disappeared.
fo 1^v

The later ones suffer from the age of the writer and his busy life

Summo itaque studio congregavi quas potui, quia nulla earum apud me exemplaria residebant, sed ab his, a quibus aliquo casu servate fuerant, uelud emendicatas accepi. Et antiquiores quidem, studia scilicet melioris etatis, elapse sunt, que recentius exercitia scolaria redolebant, quia ibi et sententie promptiore tractabantur ingenio, et usus accurati sermonis copiam ministrabat. Tunc enim leta festiuo quodam scemate decurrebat oratio, cum ingenio doctrina concurrens rerum inuentiones commoda fecundi sermonis elocutione formabat. Que uero nouissime scripta sunt quendam trahunt¹ de presenti senectute defectum, quia proeclior etas memoria iam segniore torpescit, et occupationes neccessaria studii spatia non indulgent, quoniam instantia pontificalis officii non tam figuris elocutionum quam saluti prospicit animarum. Ueruntamen si quandoque me uel reuerentia persone uel negotii quantitas pertrahit ad scribendum, omnia michi cum difficultate proueniunt, cum et hebetiorem senectus reddat et insolentia tardiozem.

Mitto itaque quod postulanti negare non audeo, sciasque non exhiberi iudici sed amico, apud quem gratia potius patrocinetur ad ueniam quam exactior peritia reducat ad formam

2. To Pope Celestine II.^a

E, A²

[Spring 1144]

fo. 20r.

Laments the death of Pope Innocent

Ad papam Celestinum.³

Sustulit uirum gloriose memorie Innocentium papam necessitas humane conditionis e medio, cuius ecclesia dei liberata triumphis, cuius adornata uirtutibus, cuius denique magnificentia fuerat sublata, qui eam humilibus placabilem, tyrannis autem formidabilem reddens, quanto plus prauitati terroris intulerat, tanto religioni plus exhibuit caritatis. Quod sane tam regularis discipline quam monastice religionis prouectus ostendit, cum ciuitates et castella⁴

¹ contrahunt, A.

² A gathering is lost in D²

⁴ catella, A.

³ Ad Celestin' papam de promotione sua, A.

^a Pope Innocent II died 24 Sept 1143, and Guy de Castello, cardinal-priest of St Mark (Boso, 'Hist Pont', in *Liber Pontificalis* (ed L. Duchesne, Paris, 1886-92), II, 386), was elected pope two days later. As the letter must have been written in the course of the year 1144, it is unlikely that Celestine received these congratulations, for he died on 8 March. See above, p. xx, n 6

passim pro secularibus regulares clericos habeant, et deserta queque Cf p 31
plus hodie monachorum quam ferarum quondam habuerint bestia-
rum. In morte igitur eius spem sibi redituam posuerat desperata
malignitas, ut tunc ad nefarios libere conatus erumperet, et statum
triumphantis in omnibus ecclesie conculcaret.

At uero in promotione uestra quasi quodam statim languore Congratulates
spes maligna contabuit, bonis orta est ex timore securitas, et Pope Celestine
*exultationes*¹ *dei in gutture* omnium sonuerunt Non enim ambigunt on his election
quin uestre sanctitatis studio propagetur, quod pio eius labore Ps cxlix. 6
plantatum est Quis enim audeat sperare dissimilia uel minora

de uobis, quem adeo et prioris uite rudimenta commendant, et
moderne promotionis auspicia diuina probant uoluntate prelatum²
Sapientia enim, cuius est *a fine usque ad finem fortiter ac suauius* Sap viii, 1
bene cuncta disponere, fortiter hoc de uobis, quia efficaciter, suauius,

quia concorditer adimpleuit Set nec soli sibi Romana ecclesia
tanti operis laudem arroget, nec inuidiose aduersum nos de tanta
concordia gloriatur, quoniam in hoc ipsum a multo iam tempore
minorum ecclesiarum uota conuenerant, nec alium adeo magnifi-
centie tanti predecessoris idoneum Roma nobis offerre poterat
successorem Fecit sane tantam excellens uirtutis uestre prero-
gatiua concordiam, contra quam uel nullus erat uel nullus ausus
est aduersarius apparere Verum est etiam electores uestros longe
antea inde a nobis quasi quoddam accepisse mandatum, cuius fines
excedere non habebant, quoniam, quod multo ante aduenarum
presagio presumptum erat, incolarum uoce completum est, ipso-
rumque consensum nostra desideria creauerunt *Loquar ergo ad* Gen xviii, 27.
dominum meum cum sim pulvis et cinis Loquar filius deuotus unico

patri meo Quanto, domine, pluribus desideriis expetitus es, quanto
faciliore concordia preelectus, quanto maiore omnium exultatione
susceptus, tanto te deo et hominibus intelligis obligatum Gratiam
diuine dignationi, gratiam humane beniuolentie debes Insisten-
dum tibi est ut dignus sit expectatione prouentus, ut deo scilicet
reuerentiam, hominibus exhibeas pietatem Inter alios uero obsecro,
ne serenitatem tuam michi maiestas tante dignitatis obducat. Set May their friend-
ship continue
uiuatur michi apud te semper pristina benignitatis affectus, teque
predecessori tuo in gratia michi et beniuolentia sentiam successisse.

Venissem autem ad uos, nisi circa confirmandam michi recentem Hindrances to a
nouu principis gratiam,^a et resarciendas ecclesie et domus nostre visit

¹ exaltationes, *Vulgate*

^a Geoffrey, count of Anjou, the father of King Henry II See above, p xx

Cf pp 32, 141,
170 and 188

ruinas,^a et curanda germanorum funera grauius occuparer^b Quibus
causis nec tempus adhuc nec alacritatem habui nec expensas
Veniam autem, deo uolente, quam citius, ut oculis meis uultus uestri
serenitas illucescat, et ariditatem meam quasi uberius de proximo
noue benedictionis riget ubertas, quia modicum id quod sum, totus
sum sanctitatis uestre sancteque Romane ecclesie deuotissimus¹
seruus

3. To Pope Eugenius III.^c

[1146]

E, D², E, A²

E, fo 101

Against Gerard,
bishop-elect of
Séez

D², jo 46

Ad eundem³

Pro Sagiensi ecclesia tota mente pedibus uestre sanctitatis
aduoluo, confidens de uobis in domino, quia bonum, quod⁴ in
illa per antecessores uestros deo auctore fundatum est, uestro
tempore non soluetur Solui autem necesse est, si inexperto
regulam regula conseruanda mandatur, si imperito agricole credatur
noua plantatio, si denique cuiquam alicuius rei magisterium credatur,
cuius ille non attigit disciplinam. Pernitiose siquidem uinea pro-
paganda comittitur ei, cuius est studium potius extirpare.

Freedom of
election should
not redound to
the injury of the
Church
Cf p 159.

Vnde etiam si eum, de quo agitur, Girardum, aliqua electionis
forma defenderet, quia pro ecclesie libertas electionum⁵ introducta
est, liquet quia quod earum fauore comparatum est, hoc ad earum
lesionem retorqueri non debet Retorquebitur autem si electionis
fauor usque in detrimentum principalis cause processerit, si non
quis, uel ad quid, sed qualiter electus sit attendatur, nec finis aut
utilitas operis, sed sola negotii series exquiratur At uero quod hic
electio nulla precesserit, et uerum est, et omnis ecclesia contestatur
preter paucos, quos⁶ ad optandam secularem personam amor et
desiderium secularitatis adduxit. Quorum primus adolescens et
frater est, secundus ex familiari neophitus, tercius nescio qua

Moreover his
election is faulty

¹ deuotus, A ² The first three lines are missing in D²

³ add pro ecclesia Sagiensi, A ⁴ add per, E

⁵ electorum, A, election crossed out and electionum in margin, D²

⁶ quod, D²

^a See above, p xlviii

^b John, bishop of Séez, see above, pp xii, seq

^c The MS title, referring to Pope Celestine, is incorrect, for Geoffrey is
already reconciled to the pope, an event which did not take place until Easter
1146. For this and the letter, see above, pp. xxxiii, seq

sanguinis cognatione coniunctus, quartus claustrali discipline mancipatus a puero, inerbis adhuc et nichil sitiens¹ penitus nisi mundum Quos ille per furtiuas litteras studio fratris persuasionibus et promissis illectos ad hoc scisma protraxit, ratus secure quidlibet aduersus paupertatem ecclesie presumendum Sperabat enim aduersus reliquos omnia posse trium aut ⁱⁱⁱⁱ^{or} huiusmodi testium depositione probari, quoniam negantis factum per rerum naturam nulla est probatio, actori² autem onus probationis incumbit. Sic opus illud primo quidem de ambitione conceptum est, exinde uero temeraria leuitate promotum, ut ad extremum posset periturus consummari³ Accessit etiam postmodum propter iniuriam, quam passus est, ex incommoditate fiducia, ad quam tamen, si eum inconsulta protraxit ambitio, nec innocentibus imputandum est, nec in detrimentum ecclesie conuertendum | Porro in auctores sceleris seueritatis apostolice undicta procedat, persone uero, que lesa est, salua tamen indemnitatem ecclesie, consulatur, ut reis pena, levis remedium, sua religioni iusticia conseruetur

His persecution should not have influence.

fo 46v.

Ceterum de eo quod factum est innocentiam suam multis comes excusat, adeo ut auctores ipsos, licet ipsius se putauerint gratiam promereri, ecclesiastico permiserit arbitrio puniendos, neue aduersus libertatem ecclesie laborare credatur, uniuersam ecclesie dispositionem archiepiscopi nostroque scilicet episcoporum consilio relaxauit Ecce, domine, in uoluntate⁴ tua uniuersa sunt posita, nec⁵ est qui possit tue resistere uoluntati Esto officii tui sedulus exsecutor, ne personarum uel cause merita confundantur, ut reos scilicet castigatio digna coherceat, lesos pia miseratio consoletur, regularis autem conuentus accipiat patrem regulari institutione formatum, ne statue auree caput eneam tuo, quod absit, opificio dicatur affixum, et, ubi ex priuilegio predecessorum tuorum archidiaconos seculares esse non licet,^a sententia tua creet episcopum secularem^b Valeat in Christo sanctitas uestra

Geoffrey, count of Anjou, is abandoning the criminals to the Church

The bishop of Seez should be a canon-regular.

¹ sciens, E ² auctori, A, u *expunged*, D². ³ consumari, E.

⁴ potestate uel uoluntate, E. ⁵ non, E

^a See below, p 56 and note c

^b Gerard's election was not confirmed by the papacy until he had become a regular canon and had sworn to uphold the Order See below, p 57

4. To Robert de Chesney, bishop of Lincoln.^a*D², E, 4*

[Summer 1149]

fo 1^v

Ad Robertum, Lincolniensem episcopum

Observations on
his friendship
and new dignity

Litteras uestre dilectionis accepi, quas tanta caritate complexus sum quanta tanti uiri gratiam decuit gratulatione complecti. Timueram sane ne memoriam mei apud uos diuturnitas temporis, uel distantia regionum, uel ipsa nouissime uestra promotio deleuisset, quoniam noue dignitates ueteres solent amicitias immutare. Creat enim cor nouum et nouos affectus noue conscientia dignitatis, diuitesque facti paupertatis amicos cum ipsa paupertate fastidiunt, ne quid penes eos de ueteri uideatur inopia resedisse. Solos autem uenerantur et diligunt quos fortuna conducit, solisque gaudent sublimibus inherere, ne maiestas dignitatis inferiorum frequentia uel humili mediocrium grauetur accessu. At uero constantia uestra, ueterem amicum recenti memoria continens, absentem presenti caritate conplectitur, ipsumque spiritualibus oculis frequentius intuens, episcopalis nunc fastigii diuitias, gratiam et obsequium non minus liberaliter offert, quam mediocres olim ingenue primitias iuuentutis. Retinendos | creditis quos ad diligendum liberalis inuitauit affectio, quos fidei ueritas non dolus cupiditatis illexit, qui fidi persone comites non fortune omnes uobis compartientur euentus. Et ego quidem, quantum ad me spectat, quem eiusdem ordinis et similis licet non tante dignitatis gratia sublimauit, hanc in uobis uirtutem longuanimutatis admīror, que scilicet ibi tanto admirabilior est ubi minoribus eundem exhibetis affectum. Uinebat autem uobis nichilominus apud me uetus sed non inueterata dilectio, que, licet ab adolescentia prima processerit, nullam adhuc potuit incurrere senectutem; sed me ad omnia, que uobis placita forent, paratum tota deuotione seruabat.

fo. 2.

^a Robert had been a secular canon of St George's in the castle of Oxford, holding the prebend of Stow, Bucks, and archdeacon of Leicester. He was consecrated bishop in December 1148. In the Matilda-Stephen conflict he had connexions with both sides. His brother, William de Chesney, was a prominent supporter of Stephen, and his nephew, Gilbert Foliot, later bishop of London, inclined to the side of the empress. See the Rev H. E. Salter, 'The Family of Chesney', *Cartulary of the Abbey of Eynsham* (Oxford Hist. Soc., vol. xlix, 1906), vol. 1, appendix 1, pp. 411, *seqq.*, and the *DNB*. It appears that Robert was a friend of Ralph de Diceto (Foliot, ep. no. 94, *MPL*, cxc, 811), who was another friend of Arnulf's youth (ep. no. 26). Perhaps they had all met at the schools of Paris.

Quia igitur ociosus amor esse non debet, sed alternis inuicem pascitur et reuirescit obsequiis, id interim a dilectione uestra petendum censui, ut ducem nostrum, cui ius successionis hereditarie regni uestri gubernacula debet,^a quantum, salua honestate uestra, poteritis, diligatis, michique, cum occasio suggererit, quod placuerit iniungatis, ut mutue dilectionis affectus mutua semper operis exhibitione concreseat
Valete

Asks him to
favour the cause
of Duke Henry

5. To G., a nun.^b[? c 1150.] ^{D²; E, A.}Ad G, monialem ¹fo 3^v

Quotiens litteras tue deuotionis accipio causam michi meroris afferunt, et ad te semper amplius diligendam sincere flammam ² caritatis accendunt Et causam quidem meroris afferunt, quoniam representatur menti mee frater ille meus, quem uiuentem speciali pre ceteris amore dilexi, cuius quanto uita michi iocundior extitit, tanto defuncti lacrimosa recordatio plus doloris importat. Requecebat in eo spiritus meus, quia ipsum uere me alterum poteram reputare, cui me et ipsum michi non carnis identitas, licet ex eadem stirpe procederet, sed inseparabilis ³ consentientium unitas ascuerat animorum Semper alteri collibuit quod alteri collibebat, nec tam suum alter quam alterius attendebat affectum, ut illius magis quam suo semper afficeretur incommodo, uel commodo letaretur Sublata est michi anime mee, eo decedente, pars altera; et intra secretum pectoris inane quiddam precordia sentiunt, quoniam spiritus integritas, potiore sui parte diminuta, languescit At uero ad te, sicut dictum est, amplius diligendam flammam ⁴ caritatis accendit, quod huius te doloris sociam et uicariam fraterne dilectionis agnosco

Condoles with a
nun who had
been affianced
to his dear
brother who
has died

Inter te enim et ipsum, cum adhuc esses septennis,⁵ parentum interuentu contracta fuere sponsalia, dum illi sibi de humano coniugio noua amicitiarum federa compromittunt, et grata prouen-

¹ sanctimonialem, A ² flamma, E ³ e over u expunged, A, e over u erased, D² ⁴ flamma, A, E ⁵ sept ess, A

^a See above, p xxvii, n 7

^b Cf. Arnulf's sermon on the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary (no 4), where there is some similarity of language.

fo. 4.

Apoc xiv, 4

Cant ii, 6 and
viii, 3

ture sobolis pignora contemplantur Et humane quidem cogitationes ad humanos libere disponuntur¹ affectus; sed omnis est inanis affectio, cui non desideratos diuina bonitas largitur effectus.² Dum enim thalamus illi³ nuptialis et coniugalis puellae maritales destinantur amplexus, quam nobilitas generis, quam forme gratia, quam denique uirginalis commendabat integritas, diuina sepulchrum illi dispositio preparabat, ut de flore iuuentutis in puluerem, de gloria pulchritudinis et uirtutis in putredinem solueretur. Felix tamen ille si prior, immo quia prior, celestem thalamum ingressus est, ut adeptam mansionem dilecte sue quandoque communicet, et ad agni nuptias pariter introdu[c]ti, in conspectu eius epulari ualeatis, et in leticia delectari. Felix tu, que corporales aliquando sperasti lasciuie⁴ uoluptatis illecebras, quam ab eiusdemodi⁵ contactu⁶ zelus diuine bonitatis conseruauit intactam, ut, munere tibi perpetue uirginitatis⁷ indulto, *agnum sequi quocunque uerit*, et spirituale illud canticum possis cum assignatis mulibus decantare. Non ergo tibi sublata sunt sed immutata sponsalia, ut iam non homini sed deo spirituali copula coniungaris, cuius desiderabilis te foueat et astringat amplexus, ut sit *leua eius sub capite tuo, et dextera eius amplexetur te*. Tui itaque studii erit apud hunc, ad quem toto corporis obsequio, tota anime deuotione conuersa es, deuotis illum precibus commendare, quia zelum huius habita pro illo supplicatio non offendet. Nouit enim inter te et ipsum nichil carnalis intercessisse commertu, nouit quia animus tuus in illa etate nulla potuit concupiscentie macula deformari. Non est ergo quod inuideat; non est quod te minus reddat acceptam, sed potius in te castum tam pie dilectionis approbabit affectum. Scio sane quam studiose id agas; neque enim illius apud te potest preterisse memoria, quem defunctum non minus spirituali contemplaris intuitu, quam uiuentem corporali mirabaris aspectu.

Porro quanto sincerior extitit, tanto diuturnior sancte dilectionis affectio permanebit. Amor enim, quem corruptarum carnium generant passiones, corruptioni semper obnoxius, quanto difficilior in principio regitur, tanto postmodum facilius euanesceat, adeo ut plerumque conuertatur in odium, et uoluptas amaritudine compensetur. Sed et imperfectus est, multisque declaratur indiciis ipsum⁸ ex uera caritate non nasci, quoniam tanto minus singulos

¹ disponuntur, A. ² affectus, A, altered, D² ³ illi thal, A, ? transposed, D².

⁴ lasciuie, D². ⁵ eiusmodi, A, E ⁶ contractu, E.

⁷ dignitatis interlined, E

⁸ illum, A, over illum, D².

neccesse est diligas, quanto hunc in plures partieris affectum. Sed et qui diligitur, sine querela | participem non admittit, quoniam sibi *fo*. derogatum ¹ reputat quicquid alii senserit impertitum. Sed incorruptibilis amor, de ipsa sinceri spiritus ueritate procedens, quanto ² fuerit dilatatus in plures, tanto maius de effusione contrahit incrementum, nec inuidiam participatio generat, sed insolubilem sancte inter omnes concordie firmat amplexum.

Hac igitur presentem sponsum tuum caritate complectere, eumque non oculis corporis inquire sed cordis, ut speciem eius, quoniam speciosus est, intueri, et suau[ita]tem eius possis, quoniam suauis est, degustare. Age etiam gratias incessanter, quoniam spiritui corpus seruauit intactum, ut puritas inuicem puritati respondeat, et tu ei perpetuum munus perfecte ³ ualeas integritatis ⁴ offerre

6. To Suger, abbot of St Denis.^a

[Summer 1150] MS. Paris, B.N.,
lat 14192

Venerabili et dilecto patri et domino, SVGerio, dei gratia abbati *fo* 18
sancti Dyonyssi, ARnulfus, Lexouensis ecclesie humilis minister,
salutem

Apud dominam imperatricem et filium eius, ducem *Normanne*, de negotio, de quo uobiscum tractauimus, quantum ad *Normanniam* pertinet, bonam spem domino uolente concepi, nunciosque statim ad comitem *Andegaue* pro altero uerbo, quod ad partem illam spectat, cum festinatione miserunt, supplicantes ut ipse uerbum illud ad pacem temperet, et illi quoque uerbo, quod ad *Normanniam* pertinet, benignum consilium pariter commodet et assensum; consilio quoque uestro plurimum acquiescere decernentes, beniuolentie uestre non ingratos se fore multa hilaritate promittunt. Agat itaque uestra sanctitas, quod nobis tam sancte benigneque promisit, diemque, in quem regia responsa postulationibus Anglorum uestro studio dilata fuerunt, per cursorem istum literis familiaribus non grauemini indicare

Reports on his
embassy to the
Empress Matilda
and Henry, duke
of Normandy

¹ o *over expunged* 1, A, D². ² quando, E

³ *perpetue uel perfecte*, E ⁴ *integ ual*, A, *transposed* D².

^a See above, p xxviii.

7. To Pope Eugenius III.^a*D²; E, A*

[Autumn 1152.]

*fo. 5*Excuse for not
visiting the pope
*fo 5^v.*xii^a 1 Ad eundem

Litteras iamdudum uestre timidus offero maiestati, quia diu est quod coram uestra non apparui sanctitate | Uenturus autem fueram reuera iam tercio, nisi me fallax inuidi casus importunitas impedisset, que tribus annis iam hoc propositum meum ad contrarios rapuit uolenter euentus Primo siquidem per bella Francorum,^b deinde ² per insperatum comitis Andegau~~ie~~ interitum,^c nouissime per regiam, que in filium eius ira recruidit,^{3d} ad quam non solum ciuitatis nostre sed ipsius etiam ⁴ ecclesie limina tremuerunt Uerum nunc respirandi fiduciam prestat tum partis nostre iusticia, tum ducis nostri uirtus illustrior, que gladios hostium quandoque perterruit, et ad pacis inclinauit affectum. Cum igitur, deo uolente, sublata fuerit uel dilata turbatio, nichil ⁵ poterit incolumem retinere, quin me quam citius pedibus uestre sanctitatis aduoluam, gratissime suscepturus omnia, quibus moram meam, quantumcunque excusabilis appareat, uestra paternitas increpabit Neque enim apud eum audeo desperare de uenia, cuius benignitas manifeste excusationis impotentiam non excludit. Iterum ⁶ autem ex ueteri procedit audacia, quod uenientem ad uos uenerabilem et dilectum fratrem nostrum, episcopum *Constantiensem*,^e precibus commendare presumo, quamuis pro eo plurimum facere uideatur ad gratiam, quod inter initia noui episcopatus nichil faciendum potius reputauit, quam Romani pontificis gratiam querere, seque totum familiaritati Romane ecclesie eo deuotius quo uelocius mancipare

¹ add Item, *A* ² dein, *A*. ³ recruidit, *D*² ⁴ om, *A*, inserted *D*²
⁵ nil, *E* ⁶ Interim, *A*

^a The manuscript title, Pope Adrian, is a mistake

^b War between the Angevins and Louis was sporadic between 1149 and 1151 See Chartrou, *L'Anjou de 1109 à 1151*, pp 72, seq and above, p xxviii.

^c 7 September 1151 (Tornig, pp 162-3)

^d This seems to be a veiled reference to the rebellion of Geoffrey, Henry's brother, after June 1152 (Tornig, p 165)

^e Richard, dean of Bayeux, bishop of Coutances 1151

8. To Pope Eugenius III.^a[? 1153] D²; E, A.xii^a. Ad eumdem.¹

fo 5.

Peticionem Baiocensis ecclesie de reuocatione episcopi sui ^b debita deuotione prosequimur, preces nostras precibus eorum apud misericordiam uestram humiliter adiungentes Supplicat cum eis quisquis antiqua ecclesie detrimenta cognouit, quam ille de puluere paupertatis et deiectionis erectam, de paupere diuitem, de contentibili uenerabilem, de ignobili reddidit gloriosam In quibus sane perficiendis quisquis laborem eius industriamque perspexerit, probabit tum in exsecutione prudentiam, tum magnificentiam in effectu. Testatur hoc edificiorum reparatio,^c reuocatio possessionum, et antique restauratio dignitatis, quam in conculcationem dederat malignitas et impotentia ² peruersorum Exultabunt igitur illi, si migrauerit is quo ³ debellante deiectioni sunt, iamque manus audas reparant ad rapinam, qui licentius consueuerant in iura ecclesie malignari Quia igitur filii et fideles ecclesie iminentia iam sibi detrimenta presentunt, ad discretionis et misericordie uestre subsidium singulare concurrunt,⁴ ut ad conseruanda que collegit suum eis episcopum remittatis Homo enim consili et fortitudinis est, potens in opere et sermone, in regalibus consilis et negotiis ecclesiasticis acceptus et efficax, plurimumque tam ipsi archiepiscopo quam omnibus prouincialibus ⁵ episcopis necessarius ad reprimendam

On behalf of
Philip de Har-
court, bishop of
Bayeux

¹ add pro Philippo Baioc' episcopo, A² im erased, E ³ qui, E⁴ oconcurrunt, D² ⁵ conprouincialibus, A.^a This ascription seems preferable to the manuscript title, Pope Adrian IV^b Philip de Harcourt, dean of Lincoln, archdeacon of Evreux, bishop of Bayeux 1142-63, is known to have been at Rome once under Lucius II and three times under Eugenius III, viz, 1144, 1145, 1146 and 1153 (Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, p. 203, n 27) He was generally engaged in restoring the possessions of his see, which he had found much impoverished, and had much trouble with the monks of Troarn and Fécamp (*ibid*, pp 201-4, and *Antiquus cartularius ecclesiæ Baiocensis (livre noir)*, ed V Bourrienne (Soc de l'hist de Normandie, Rouen, 1902-3), nos 154, 155, 156, 159, 173, 186, 189 and 199)^c In 1105 Henry I had taken and burned the city (Ordericus iv, 219), and in 1138 Robert of Gloucester had captured the city for Geoffrey, count of Anjou (*ibid*, v, 108) The church was burned in 1160, and Philip was active in its restoration (Torigni, p 206)

et repellendam ¹ ab ecclesia dei insolentiam malignorum Desideratur autem regressus eius ab his, qui in terra prudentiores sunt, et, si quis aduersus eum furtiua malignitate submurmurat, ² non tam caritate quam inuidia, nec tantum delictis eius quantum suspecta magnificentia commouetur

Dominus personam uestram ecclesie sue per tempora multa conseruet incolumem

9. To Daniel, prior of Ste. Barbe-en-Auge.^a

D², E, A

[Spring 1154]

fo 9^v

Orders him to return and take up the priorate of his house

vij^a Ad Danelem, priorem sancte Barbare

Ad gerendam sollicitudinem domus tue non pro tua te, frater, uirtute uocauimus, sed pro diuine fidutia bonitatis, que ³ his, qui ad regimen animarum pure uocantur et humiliter obedire consentiunt, uberiorem largiri gratiam consuevit Sicut autem non debebas te non uocatus ingerere, ita uocatus recusare non debes, quia non minus delictum tumor ⁴ inobedientie quam zelus ambitionis importat. Quod si non ex timore sed ex humilitate potius, sicut putas, et timore desistis, pussillanimitatem hec michi sapit humilitas, que tanto studiosius deuitanda est, quanto magis periculo desperationis accedit. Sed etsi qua unquam ratione ab hac uocatione fueras absoluendus, non debuisti apud fratres tuos, nec apud auctoritatem nostram litteris excusari, nec proprie uoluntati, cui te renuntiassse cognoscis, morem gerere; sed personam tuam, que ⁵ magis nostra quam tua est, pedibus nostris humilis et deuotus offerre, fratribusque tuorum trahi desideris et mandatis pontificalibus inclinari.

fo. 10.

Dangers from his absence

Porro mora tua rerum temporalium et, quod grauius est, periculum continet animarum, quia incustoditas oues luporum incurisus esse constat expositas, detrimentumque omne ab eo requirendum est, qui debitam custodiam detrectat aliquibus occasionibus adhibere.

¹ ad repell. et reprim, A; *transposed*, D² repellendam, D².

² submurmurant, E.

⁴ tumor, A, ? *altered* D²

³ qui, E
⁵ quodammodo, *inserted*, E

^a On the death of William, prior of the Austin house of Ste Barbe in the diocese of Lisieux, in January 1154, Daniel, prior of the daughter cell of Beckford in Gloucestershire was elected (Anonymous chronicle of Ste Barbe, in *HF*, xiv, 504, where the letter is incorporated in the chronicle)

Veni igitur, quoniam cum ipso onere gratia tibi diuina concrescet, et nos personam tuam et domum ipsam solita uel maiore etiam caritate fouebimus; et, si qua forte intrinsecus difficultas emergerit, ego in manu forti ante faciem tuam protinus omnia¹ complanabo. Ueni, inquam, et infra octauam diem post acceptionem presentium litterarum iter agredere, nullasque in ueniendo causas dilationis admittas, nisi quas necessitas inuincibilis uel enormis dampni euitatio suggesserit admittendas. Quod si non feceris, exinde te tanquam inobedientem episcopali auctoritate ab omnium ecclesiarum introitu sumouemus.

10. To Thomas Becket^a[? 1155.] F¹

cxxij. Ad sanctum Thomam, dum esset regis Anglie cancellarius fo 68^v

Venerabili et dilecto amico suo, Thome, illustri regis Anglorum cancellario, *Arnulfus*, *Lexouensis* ecclesie minister humilis, salutem et plurimam dilectionem

Litteras uestre dignationis accepi, quarum singula uerba michi ^{Their} uisa sunt stillare dulcedinem et suauem sincere caritatis melle manare ^{friendship}. Gausus sum saluam michi esse apud uos prerogatiuam pristinae familiaritatis et gratie, nec eam demigrasse locorum distantia, nec frequentibus negotiis expirasse. Gausus, inquam, quia post epistolam uestram nulla potuit residere dubietas, cuius maiestatem nequaquam conuenit uel uicium falsitatis incurrere, uel in adulationis descendere uilitatem. Viuit autem uobis apud me nichilominus uere dilectionis affectus, quem, etsi frequens operis exhibitio non illustrat, supplet tamen sibi conscia prompte deuotio uoluntatis.

In amicitia etenim sola animorum uoluntas exquiritur, nec com- ^{On friendship} merti patitur questionem, ne prostituta possit uel mercennaria ^(cf. pp 53 and 141) reputari. Sic namque in sua per se puritate consistit, ut in ipsa operum exhibitio non nisi uicem accessionis optineat et sequele, nec rebus fortune tenetur obnoxia, suam sibi per se tribuens et retinens dignitatem. Quod adeo uerum est, ut inter diuites rarior semper soleat inueniri, et plane, quasi diu[er]sitarum multipliciter

¹ protinus *inserted after* omnia, E

^a Chancellor 1154-62 For the letter see above, p. xxx.

*De vicio
curialium* ¹

Cf pp 67, 173,
186 and 216

exosa, simplicitati paupertatis uidetur securius inherere. Rara est eoque pretiosior, nusquam tamen rarior quam inter eos qui ad principum tractanda consilia et negotia disponenda uocantur. Vt enim cetera taceam, sollicita mentibus eorum dominatur ambitio, dumque alter alterius metuit studio preueniri, procedit inuidia, quam in odium statim conuerti necesse est. Hic etenim est mos uetustus inuidie, ut successus alienos suum iudicet detrimentum, sibi que sublatum reputet quicquid ad commoda cesserit aliorum. Torquetur igitur, mentisque tormentum contracta uultus hylaritate dissimulat, et obscuram fallatibus blanditis induit similitatem. Porro si aduersus quempiam fauor principis fuerit inmutatus, eumque ceperit oculo seueriore perstringere, omni statim solatio destitutus egreditur is, quem sodalium gratia, quem applausus, quem denique sedula omnium obsequia frequentabant. Insultant quorum compassionem sperabat ad omnia, et ueteres occasionem nacti requirunt iniurias, ipsaque beneficia sinistra constanter interpretatione deprauant.

fo 69.
Advice offered.

² Rom. 1x.

Hoc mare nauigatis, in hac uos ² oportet uiuere tempestate, in qua uos quoque Sirenes timere oportet, subitos applaudencium risus et melicas adulantium cantilenas. Inter que omnia una uobis sit ³ euadendi fiducia, cum sinceritas fidei, tum ³ honeste operationis integritas, potiusque de testimonio conscientie uestre cum apostolo gloriam querite, quam aliene lingue lubricum uel uulgaris estimationis redimatis incertum. Hec enim maiori quam ueniant pernecitate pretereunt, illa, quamuis ingratum quandoque sortiantur accessum, felici tamen semper exitu gloriantur. Hec autem uobis scribo, non ut Mineruam, ut aiunt, litteras doceam, sed, cum amico loquens, sermonis cursum retinere non potui, presertim cum congratulantis animi quasi quedam lasciuia perurgeret.

Good offices
solicited

Dominum Serlonem, fidelem nostrum, cum paucis modicisque negociis que portat, caritati uestre commendo, hoc scilicet adiuncto, ut sub absentia mea gratiam principis, quam officiosissime merui, uestra michi diligentia conseruet, ⁴ quoniam apud iuuenem sine admonitionis pabulo diu non poterit uiuere, quin expiret.

Bene semperque valete.

¹ *contemporary rubric.* ² nos, *MS.* ³ cum, *MS.* ⁴ conseruetur, *MS.*

II. To Arnold, abbot of Bonneval.^a[? 1155] D²; E, A.

fo. 2.

Ad Ernaldum, Boneuall's abbatem.¹

Venerabilis frater et amicus noster, Philippus abbas,^b infirmitatem uestram cum magna nobis amaritudine (nunciau)it, affectum animi lacrimarum testimonio prosequutus Quod uerbum (pri)mo statim auditu, tanto nobis acerbius extitit, quanto proxime de uestra fueramus presentia gratulati Ceperunt igitur occur[r]ere michi que de uestra dilectione iocunda prouenerant et si quid simile in futurum sperabatur, semperque discurrens inter utrumque consideratio uim meroris augebat Occurrebat siquidem michi caritatis uestre sanctorum illud dulceque colloquium, quo preualetis auditorum mentes rerum erudire sollertia et aures iocundi sermonis suauitate mulcere Recordabar quantam uobis scribendi gratiam bonitas diuina contulerat, in qua nescio an magis quis sententiarum fructum an dicendi peritiam debeat ammirari Hec enim apud uos tanta sibi inuicem paritate respondent, ut neque rerum maiestas uerborum coartari uideatur angustius, nec sermonis dignitas aliqua sententiarum excellentia pregrauari in his sane, que uel intellectus concipere uel humana facundia sufficit explanare Palam est de illius hoc processisse doctrina, cuius spiritus familiarium mentes et linguas tam noticia ueritatis quam affluentia sermonis illustrat

Condolence on his illness.

The grace of his words

fo 2^v

Denique dolor in miserationem conuersus est, dum incommoda uestra laboresque contemplor, quibus innocentiam uestram sollicitudo domestica et persecutoris inmanitas incessanter affligit Sed et de proximo sperata tranquillitas quasi de manibus uidebatur erepta, ut omnem uobis de presenti crederetur fortuna requiem

His difficulties.

¹ abb Boneuallis, E

^a After leaving Marmoutier, where he was still to be found in 1138, Arnold was abbot of this Benedictine house in the diocese of Chartres near Châteaudun, occurring in 1144 and 1151 He had returned to Marmoutier by 1159, and died c 1162 Arnold was the author of many religious works, and had connexions with St Bernard (*H L*, xii, 536, and Clerval, *Les Écoles de Chartres au Moyen-Age*, pp 205-6) Also, see above, p xiv.

^b Probably Philip, abbot of the Cistercian house of l'Aumône in the diocese of Chartres, once archdeacon of Liège and prior of Clairvaux He was later a supporter of Pope Alexander III in the schism (*H F*, xv, 753, 762), and was active in the Becket dispute in 1164 (*Materials*, i-iv, *passim*, and *H L*, xiv, 166).

inuidisse Potiorem tamen requiem, sicut presumitur, uobis resolutio contulisset, quia regem in decore suo uiderent oculi uestri, ut adimpleret uos leticia cum uultu suo, quem propter se tot ad presens tribulationibus passus est infestari Nobis autem iocundum est uestra uel ad modicum tempus frui presentia, uestro recreari colloquio, uestro consilio releuari, quoniam uestra, si dilata est uobis, retributio¹ non aufertur, sed reposita uobis est in tuto corona iusticie, depositumque fidele, quod suum est, suo tempore qui commisit agnoscet.

Arnulf is ill in sympathy.

Dum igitur his super statu uestro considerationibus mea mens compassione debita raptaretur, subitus² tanquam ex insperato morbus obrepsit, ut facile credi posset uestre partem infirmitatis in me compassionis affectio transfudisse. Nec tamen est priuata passione sublata compassio, sed utrique prospiciens animus duplici cepit statim³ incommodo laborare. Visitauit igitur utrumque misericors et miserator dominus, et utrique ea ratione beneficium sanitatis indulsit, quia alter sine altero perfecte sanari minime potuisset. Uobis ergo seruatus sum, uestra michi nichilominus sapientia reseruata, ut secundum legem Christi *alter alterius onera* inuicem supportemus, et secundum exuberantem caritatem alter alterius se totum gaudeat utilitatibus impendisse.

Gal. vi, 2

12. To Arnold, abbot of Bonneval.^a

D^a, E, A.

[? 1155.]

fo 32^v

xl. Ad Ernaldum,⁴ Boneuall^{is} abbatem.

His letters have been delayed

Littere, quas nouissimas uestra michi caritas destinauit, apud eum, qui perferendas acceperat, aliquamdiu substiterunt. Vnde factum est ut eas non profecturi nec proficiscentis acceperim, sed profecti, quem nec resalutare⁵ possem, nec, si quid concepissem animo, remandare

Arnulf prepares burned offerings so that he may have a successful journey.

Feci ergo quod potui Holocaustum⁶ pro uobis obtuli⁷ medullatum, quod sua nimirum pinguedine complaceret, ipsamque oblationem deuotus impingueret offerentis affectus. Holocaustum,

¹ quon. dilata uobis retributio, A; si and est inserted, D^a; uobis inserted, E.

² subito, E. ³ stat. cep., A; statum before cepit crossed out, D^a.

⁴ Ernulfum, A. ⁵ salutare, E.

⁶ holocaustumque, E. ⁷ hol. obtuli pro, A, transposed, D^a

^a See note a, p. 15.

inquam, obtuli medullatum, in quo scilicet medullam diuinitatis corporea species obumbraret, procedensque de intimi cordis medullis oratio suam sacrificio concineret melodiam. Hic enim ¹ ille utulus saginatus est, hic mons ille coagulatus et pinguis, hic Christus ille unctus oleo exultationis pre participibus ² suis, de cuius plenitudine, licet omnes acceperint, ipsa tamen effusio non minuit effundentem. Nichil | offerri preciosius, nichil efficacius potest, nichil ei, qui offert, uel ei, pro quo offertur, utilius, si dignitati sacrificii personarum indignitas non obsistat. Oportet enim offerentem puras manus inferre, ne quod impreciable est, omnique ueneratione dignissimum, uel sub precii recidat uilitatem, uel causis indignioribus expendatur. Oportet eum, pro quo offertur, fide recognoscere, caritate complecti, prosequi desiderio, totamque sibi in eo diuine propitiationis fiduciam collocare. His autem concurrentibus, utriusque partis uersatur utilitas, ut, qui pro aliis offerunt, pro se ipsis inueniantur offerre. Magnum sane predicandumque beneficium, quod erogatum ali proficit, ipsumque nichilominus adiuuat erogantem! Quoscumque enim sacerdos, effusa caritatis latitudine, complectatur, ³ totum simul omnium, totum uniuscuiusque est sigillatim, ⁴ nec integritatem diuidit communicatio plurium, nec soliditatem minuit participatio diuersorum. Sic est totus tibi Christus impenditur, totus michi, totiusque in solidum te coheredem hereditatis admittit, quam totam michi nichilominus repromittit. Quod enim spirituale est, neque terminis ⁵ circumscribitur, nec aliquibus angustius coartatur, nec impensum rarescit impendio, nec aliqua potest integritatis sue detrimenta sentire. Totum itaque pro uobis obtuli, totum prouentui meo nichilominus reseruauit, cum scilicet utrique sic cesserit in salutem, ut et iter uestrum cum prosperitate dirigeret, et michi gratiam diuine propitiationis augeret.

Prov xv, 17
Ps lxvii, 16
Disquisition on
the sacrifice of
the Mass
fo 33.

13. To Arnold, abbot of Bonneval.^a

[February–March 1156] *D¹, E, A*

Ad Ernaldum Boneuall's abbatem.

fo. 10

De aduentu uestro nichil audieram priusquam uester ad me nuntius peruenisset. Neque enim uideram dominum Ebrouensem ^b,

Congratulations
on his health and
his successful
journey.

¹ *om*, *A*, inserted, *D²*

² *participibus*, *A*

³ *amplectatur* uel *complectatur*, *E*

⁴ *sigillatim*, *A*, *n expunged*, *D²*

⁵ *terminus*, *E*.

^a See page 15, note *a*

^b Rotrou, later archbishop of Rouen

sed eadem die ipsum et ¹ litteras uestras Turonum, quo ad regem ueneramus, accepi, litterarumque breuitatem iocunda² communis amici suppleuit oratio Gauissus sum de incolumitate uestra, gauissus de peregrinationis prouentu,³ gauissus quod uestram prudentiam et honestatem honore debito Romana recognouit ecclesia Ad cumulum tamen exultationis accessit, quod in proximo uisitare nos dilectio uestra constituit, ut et mutuis exhalaremur aspectibus, et iocundis⁴ alterne colloctionis affatibus delectemur Communica- bimus etenim que nos interim blanda uel aspera contigerunt, quoniam hec inter amicos communicatio mouet affectus, ut prospera quidem propter congratulationem dulciora faciat, et aduersa per compatiendam leuiora Porto⁵ siquidem leuius quod alius mecum pari compassione supportat, ipsamque inter amicos facit exuberare leticiam conscia participatio gaudiorum Quanta igitur possum acceleratione festino, Lexouinumque ipso kal' Martis die, domino uolente, perueniam, ibidem per dies aliquot uel in uicinia moraturus Nuntium autem uestrum per aliquantulum temporis moleste detinui, quoniam incertum me de reditu meo graua que inter reges uertebantur negotia detinebant⁶

Rejoices because
Arnold is to
visit him

fo 10^v

Royal business

14. To Pope Adrian IV.^b

[c 1158.]

D², E, A

fo 30^v

Report on a
journey through
Italy with a
youth who had
been entrusted
to Arnulf

xiiii^a. Ad ⁶ papam Adrianum

Adolescens, quem ad accingendum militie cingulo uestra michi dignatio commendauit,⁷ cum diuertisset aliquatenus, quia securum per urbem transitum non habebat, infirmatus rediit, tantique in-

¹ om, A, inserted, D²

⁴ iocundis, D²

⁶ add dominum, A

² iocunda, D²

⁵ Porro, A

⁷ cūmmendauit, D²

³ prouectu, E

^a There was a meeting of the kings of England and France 'in confinio Normanniae et Franciae' on 5 February 1156 (Tongni, p 186), where the business was the homage due from Henry and the question of his brother Geoffrey's continental possessions. Shortly after Geoffrey fled to Anjou where he raised revolt, and Henry followed him and besieged the castles of Chinon and Mirebeau (Tongni, p 189, W of Newburgh, *Hist rerum angliearum in Chron of Stephen*, etc [Rolls Series], 1, 113, John of Salisbury, ep no 128, *M.P.L.*, cxcix, 108) It must have been at this time that Henry and Arnulf were at Tours, near the hostile castles

^b See above, p xxxi, and the next letter.

cendio caloris accensus est, ut de salute eius timendum plurimi credidissent. Viribus tamen de hilaritate promissae instructionis assumptis, ad Milonem vestrum¹ et patrem Radicosium usque perductus est; plurimumque pater super egritudine filii de beneficii uestri gratia solamen accepit. Cum uero adolescenti requiem suasissem, et ego ei per assignatam personam nichilominus fidem debite promissionis implerem, uenire semper usque ad conductum locum simulata ualitudine apud indulgentiam paterne pietatis obtinuit. Sane cum in uia non declinaret infirmitas, sed importuno semper ascensu morbo morbus accederet, ueritus sum ne quod de diuturnitate precauissae putaueram, ex ipsa michi breuitate temporis eueniret. Experitus sum affectiones animorum plurimum conferre *fo. 31.* uel auferre corporibus, sepiusque de earum qualitatibus ipsorum uel periculum procedere uel salutem. Ferebatur enim animo magis quam corpore, quia uires corporis animi restaurabat hilaritas, fortiusque trahebatur desiderio quam egritudine tardaretur.

Peruenimus itaque Lucam, ubi, sicut apparuit, infra decem dies uel plures arma coaptari non poterant, nec is, cui parabantur, quoniam in lectum decubuerat, percipere potuisset. Porro miles quidam, qui michi a patre fuerat assignatus, cepit utilius de necessitate consilium; habitaque omnium ratione, petiit sibi in eam causam xl. libras *Prueniensium* numerari. Affectabat enim meliores equos longiore tractu temporis explorare, ceteraque omnia quanto spatiosius tanto commodius² comparare,³ quoniam repentinis emptores sepe circumuenit sagax astutia uenditorum. Adqueui libentius, neque enim poteram incertam pueri ualitudinem expectare, nec esset michi tutum morari diutius, ne, prenuntiato aduentu meo, michi inter uias insidie pararentur.

Adieci autem nomine expensarum ad moram reditumque quod oportuit, ne de eo, quod ad aliud destinatum erat, aliquid detrahere neccessitas aliqua coegisset. Visi sunt michi multas uobis super beneficio uestro gratias habuisse, michique ipsi ab eis sunt grates exhibite, quasi de reliquis et uestrarum plenitudine gratiarum

¹ nostrum, A; *changed by expunction*, D²

² cūmodius, D² ³ cūparare, D²

15. To Roland Bandinelli, papal chancellor.^aD², E, A

[C. 1158]

fo 6^v

Reports on a
youth whom
he has taken
to court.

xvi^a Ad dominum papam *Alexandrum* cum esset cancellarius ¹

Bandinum uestrum ad regem usque perduxī,^b qui, dignationi uestre gratias agens, eum maiori procuratori domus sue tradidit informandum, ut idem ei et necessaria prouideret, et inter alios nobiles eum regalibus obsequiis familiarius adhiberet. Et ille quidem imperata diligenter exequutus est, sed etiam imperium quandoque eleganti precucurrit ² ingenio, promptus ad omnia quibus debet ³ ingenui adolescentis industria collaudari. Siue igitur accupationi seu uenationi, quibus studus ⁴ rex multus ⁵ insistit, seu rebus bellicis intenderetur, regios discursus indefessa celeritate prosequeretur, ceterisque pigritantibus, non solum regi sed et ⁶ omnibus, qui cum ipso erant, uigilanter assistebat, tanquam si unuscuiusque esset specialiter obsequio deputatus. Vnde plurimam apud regem et apud omnes laudem et gratiam impensa sedulitate promeruit.

fo 7

The youth's
behaviour and
character

At si de moribus ducitis inquirendum, Gallicanam perosus incontinentiam seueritatis Italice modestiam conseruauit, uestre memor per omnia discipline. Non eum ⁷ reddidit sermo petulans uel effusus infestum, non regales delicie fortioris adolescentie robur emollierunt, non opinionem eius aliqua respersit infamia; sed testis conscientie pudor ad omnem aspectum et omne alloquium faciem eius casto laudabilis uerecundie rubore suffudit. Atque hec michi, quandoque ad curiam redeunti, per plerosque comperta sunt; sed gratius habui quod hec et alia de ipsius ore regis accepi. Adiunxit enim nullum inter tot nobiles tante industrie tamque bone indolis puerum se habere, magisque ipsum in agnoscenda domus regie disciplina paruo tempore profecisse quam alii triennio profecissent. compertum se habere puerum nobilis esse prosapie, cuius ingenuos mores ultro tam prudentia quam benignitas innata formaret: placere sibi si apud eum aliquandiu moraretur; uestro

¹ Ad Rollandum, sancte Romane ecclesie cancellarium, A.² > precucurrit, cu *expunged*, D². ³ deberet, A; ex *expunged*, D².⁴ stu|tidus, D² ⁵ multum, E. ⁶ regis et, A, *over erasure*, D².⁷ enim, A, *over enim*, D².^a He became Pope Alexander III in 1159^b See the previous letter.

tamen remittendum arbitrio quam primum estiuales intemperantia preterisset. Existimabitis fortassis que scribo fallaces esse blandicias, sed nec sapientem fallere tutum est, nec mendatio conuenit labia pollui sacerdotis Valete ¹

16. To Pope Adrian IV.

[? 1157-9] D^a, E, Ax^a. Ad dominum papam Adrianum.²fo 4^v

Lator presentium, magister Symon, miserabiles ad apostolicam sedem portat iniurias, quarum, si ille locus episcopum habuisset,^a audita a uobis prius esse debuerat uindicta quam culpa. Audite eum, et iniurias eius, immo uestras, seueritate debita uindicate, ne huiusmodi aduersus apostolicam sedem insolescat audacia, preteritum cum in partibus illis in contemptum eius pleraque iam incipiant germina pullulare. Occurrendum est igitur, ne tractu temporis impunita malignitas conualescat, et uires iniquitatis dissimulatio uestra uel indulgentior gratia subministret. Iam enim nomen apostolicum, quod hactenus in terra illa reuerentie fuerat et terroris, in causam scandalis uersum est ³ et contemptus, nec appellantem prouocatio liberat, sed in se potius uehementiam iudicis exacerbat. Sensit hoc iste, qui propter appellationem reclusus ⁴ in carcerem ac miserabili tortus inedia, nec apud tyrannum sine pecunia, nec apud episcopum sine detrimento cause potuit liberari. Et ego quidem pro causa ipsius obnoxius ⁵ supplicare decreueram, sed apud misericordiam uestram facile causam ⁶ declarata perorabit afflictio, et apud gratiam uestram intercessio nostra solito congaudebit effectu. Uerum priuate communis causa preponderat, quoniam de ecclesie dei libertate tractatur, nec iam spes restat ulla refugii, si in irritum deducta fuerit apostolice protectionis auctoritas

On behalf of
the bearer,

whose judicial
appeal has been
disregarded.

¹ om, E ² add pro magistro Simone, A ³ om, E⁴ retrusus uel reclusus, E⁵ obnoxius, A, altered by expunction, D²⁶ add ipsam, A; crossed out, D²

^a There were few vacancies in Norman churches during the pontificate of Adrian, and it is most probable that Séez, vacant from 1157 to 1159 (see above, p xxxv), is indicated here. The tone of the letter strengthens the supposition, for Arnulf was embroiled in the business of the church, and had a personal interest in the diocese (see above pp xxxiii, seqq.).

fo 5

Vindicate igitur, ne forte, | quod absit, procedat temeritas in exemplum, sed clarius audita correctio¹ imperitiam doceat et compescat audatiam

17. To Pope Adrian IV.

D², E, A

[Early 1159]

fo 5^v

Report on a
quarrel in the
abbey of
Jumièges

xiiij^a ² Ad eumdem

Pro causa ex mandato uestro³ dirimenda, que inter abbatem Gemmeticum^a et monachos uertebatur, ad ipsum monasterium usque descendimus, ut nobis facilius de proximo facies ecclesie et rerum ueritas innotescere posset, ac sine sumptu et labore partium ipsa commodius controuersia terminari. Ceterum in quamcunque partem debeat culpa conferri, certum est monasterium antiquum et nobile miserabiliter in spiritualibus et temporalibus defecisse, tantusque inter abbatem et monachos omnes, exceptis tribus uel⁴ iij^{or}, zelus exarsit, ut in omne tempus de reformanda inter eos concordia desperetur. Tot enim in ipsum turpitudines publice protulerunt, ut necesse sit | semper utramque partem de uera alterius gratia dubitare, quoniam, quiescente fortasse litigio, odiosa proborum memoria non quiescet

fo. 6.

Charges against
the abbot.

Proposuerunt siquidem aduersus eum tria capitula · primum de turpi et innaturali incontinentia, secundum de simonia, tertium de dilapidatione, per quam non tantum ad inopiam⁵ sed et ad extremam inediam se dicebant esse deductos Ne uero confusionem faceret multitudo, si de tribus promiscue tractaretur, elegerunt primum illud de incontinentia capitulum, super quo septem accusatores, monachos sacerdotes, et nouem postmodum testes, monachos itidem, sed diuersorum ordinum, produxerunt Quorum diligentius explorato testimonio, cognouimus v. singulos de singulis actibus singulare testimonium perhibere, nec aliquem eorum aliquid cum alio percepisse, sed per se sigillatim unumquemque quod dixerat inuenisse. Duorum autem, qui in unius actus attestazione producti

¹ correctio, A; altered, D² ² add Item, A ³ nostro, A
⁴ aut, A. ⁵ ad inopiam tantum, A, ⁷ transposed, D².

^a Peter was a stranger, a monk from Cluny, and his arrival in 1155 caused disturbances which became bitter in 1158 (Julien Loth, *Hist de l'abbaye de S. Pierre de Jumièges* (Soc. de l'hist de Normandie, 1882-5), 1, 267-9)

sunt, repperimus alterum laicum nullius ordinis, olim militem, ideoque ad exhibendam in presbiterum criminis probationem minus idoneum. Alter uero, cum, eo detracto, solitarius remaneret, a nobis est minus sufficiens reputatus. Porro de duobus nouissimis, qui similiter in unius sed alterius actus testimonio processerunt, alter subdiaconus et adolescens inuentus est, qui et ipse, cum ob ulteriorem abbatis familiaritatem suspectus esse fratribus incepisset, se nichil inhonestum de abbate percepisse constantissime coram omnibus affirmavit. Unde ¹ pro minori etate et ordine et inconstantia sermonis exclusus, socium nichilominus solitarium fecit, licet illum quoque lasciuius se gessisse et pars aduersa diceret, et fama consentiens predicaret.

Quibus omnibus diligenter auditis et cognitis, uisum est nobis Judgment ex sententia cuncta, que processerant, non ad probationem sed ad presumptionem posse proficere, quia probationis priuilegium solitaria testimonia non merentur. Quia igitur presumptioni standum est donec in contrarium probetur, abbati est a nobis adiudicata purgatio septima quidem manu, trium scilicet abbatum, et trium monachorum sacerdotum ² note opinionis et nominis, quorum iuramentis uulnerate fame necessarium posset remedium comparare. Appellatum est ergo ³ a monachis ad octabas Pentecostes, apostoli postulati et traditi, partibusque mandatum ne interim ab eis appellati nominis apostolici reuerentia lederetur fo. 6^v
An appeal.

18. To the abbot of St. Évroult.^a

[c 1159] D²; E, A.

xvii^a Ad abbatem Sancti Ebrulfi

fo 7

Scire debetis omnes obligationes predecessoris uestri in personam uestram recta uia transisse, quibuscunque monasterium uestrum in decessu ipsius ⁴ extitit obligatum. Sed et eedem obligationes, si forte fuerant religione qualibet interueniente firmate, eidem uinculo uos

Reminds him that he is bound by his predecessor's obligations

¹ add et, A, expunged, D²

² sac mon., E

³ om, A, expunged, D²

⁴ om, E

^a Either Bernard, who was suspended in 1159 after a rule of scarcely a year (G C), or his successor, Robert II de Blangis, abbots of the Benedictine house of St Évroult, near Argentan, at this time subject to the bishops of Lisieux. See above, pp xxxvi, seqq

His creditors are
pressing Arnulf,
who has stood
surety

fo. 7^v

credatis obnoxium, quem in locum illius successisse constat, et omnes tam utilitates quam onera monasterii suscepisse. Propter quod Hugonis et Drogonis ¹ de Cambr' grauiter instantia nos infestat super peccunia, quam predicto predecessori uestro totique capitulo crediderunt, cuius solutionem certum est ipsum et uniuersitatem totam, fide per uicarias manus corporaliter interueniente, firmasse. Ad maiorem quoque cautelam decem de fidelibus monasterii pari uinculo se nichilominus astrinxerunt, quos scilicet | creditorum prouidentia magis idoneos credidit ad soluendum ² Postmodum uero qua fide, qua diligentia negotium uestrum gesserim apud eos uestra presentia recognouit, cum uobis et usuras remitti fecerim et necessitatem solutionis in duorum annorum curricula prorogari. Cumque nulla inter uos posset, nisi me interueniente, prouenire concordia, obligauit me pro uobis, promisso scilicet quod suo tempore fidem debitam facerem placitis conuentionibus exhiberi. Porro sanctitas uestra minorem meritis meis gratiam retulit, minorem episcopali reuerentiam detulit dignitati, minus opinioni sue, minus fidei fratrum salutisque prospexit. Quid enim, si semel consensit uniuersitas obligari, nunquid reatus abbatis aut depositio potuit eos ere alieno, quod contraxerant, fideque super ipso prestita, liberare? In uos tamen hec potius quam in ipsos debet culpa conferri, cum, eis circa spiritalia propensius occupatis, ipsi fidei et diligentie uestre suam et potestatem crediderint et salutem. Quod si uos curam animarum suscepistis bona fide gerendam, ad conseruandam fidem eorum principaliter intendere debuistis, presertim cum huiusmodi transgressio soleat criminalis etiam in secularibus estimari. Super quo, ³ si ignorantiam eorum simplicitas fidelis excusat, in uos tam uestra quam ea, que eorum futura esset si rescissent, iure culpa transfertur, duplicisque reatus duplex uos constituit negligentia ⁴ transgressorem. Accedit quod prudentiam uestram semel iterumque commonui, ut creditores exorare, adhibita etiam nostra intercessione, uelletis, quod facile fieri poterat, ut solis precibus salua uobis adhuc esse posset et utilitas et honestas

Warnings and
threats.

Redite igitur ad cor, et contemptum hunc consilio meliore deponite, fidem nostram et uestram et fratrum ⁵ uestrorum ab hac, si etiam est, calumpnia liberate, quoniam res ista plurimam opinioni uestre iam intulit lesionem, etsi fortassis non abstulerit

¹ Drog et Hug., A

² credidit absoluend', E

³ quod, D² ⁴ negligentia, A, e over 1 expunged, D²

⁵ uestram fratrumque, E

conscientiæ puritatem. Quod si ueteri proposito decreuistis insistere, me quidem mendacem promissionis | existere non oportet, sed, ubi *fo 8.* consilii mansuetudo non proficit, manum fortitudinis conuenit adhibere. Studii itaque uestri sit infra proximum Pentecosten satisfacere, sicut in nostra fuit presentia constitutum. Alioquin ex ea die fraternitatem uestram ab officio altaris noueritis ea, qua preminemus, auctoritate suspensam. Fratrum uero uestrorum conscientie relinquo quomodo munus offerant ad altare, si non fuerit creditoribus satisfactum, quibus ipsi se, etsi non proprius, uicarius tamen manibus astrinxerunt.

19 To the abbot of St. Évroult.^a[c 1159] *D*², *E*, *A*xix^a Ad abbatem Sancti Ebrulfi ¹*fo 8*

Pro Willelmo monacho olim nos fraternitati tue semel et iterum scripsisse meminimus, ut eum in monasterio tuo, in quo professus est,² reciperes, et paratum ad omnem humilitatem³ et obedientiam benignitate debita confoueres. Quod si aduersus eum fraternitas tua aliquid haberet, quominus recipiendum esse decerneres, id ipsum nobis, assignato tibi loco et tempore congruo, demonstrares, ne aut ipse sine culpa societate collegi priuaretur, aut quies fratrum importuno reprobande persone turbaretur accessu. Ouis enim ad ouile potius humeris est reportanda pastoris quam luporum morsibus exponenda, ad cuius salutem impreciabilis ille Christi sanguis⁴ effusus est, et institutionis euangelice doctrina concurrat. Nos uero, cum tu nec monachum iuxta mandata reciperes, nec post secundam etiam uocationem nostro te conspectui presentares, ne in contemptum episcopalis reuerentia uerteretur, ad ueniendum te mandato seueriore compulimus, predicto fratri de exclusione, nobis de inobedientia responsurum. Postmodum tamen, ne quid motu quolibet facere crederemur, nosti quanta iniuriam nostram facilitate remisimus, ut et tu exemplo nostro posses ad misericordiam inuitari.

¹ Ad eundem, *A* ² es, *E* ³ utilitatem uel humilitatem, *E*⁴ sanguis Christi, *A*, *transposed*, *D*²^a See note to the preceding letter

fo 8^v.

Tu uero, quam durum te et inexorabilem prestiteris, meministi, asserens sepedictum fratrem, publica totius capituli sententia condemnatum, exisse pro delicto quodam, quod, sicut aiebas, secundum priuatas institutiones uestras ueniam non meretur Ille uero, cum delictum modis omnibus sententiamque capituli pernegasset, innocentiam suam testimonio capituli cum omni, sicut uisum est, securitate commisit Placuit itaque nobis consilio magnorum uirorum, qui aderant, ipsum et religiosas ad capitulum uice nostra destinare personas, per quas nobis exquisitam remitteret attestatio publica ueritatem. Tu autem in absentem testimonium dici multa instantia postulabas, nec te permissurum pro nobis ipsum uel capitulum intrare, uel aliquid quod ibi diceretur audire, cum in inquisitione criminis reos esse presentes oporteat, et omnem eis audiendi et respondendi copiam indulgeri Super quo, quia de sepedicti fratris crimine noluisti nos facere certiores, necesse habemus ipsum interim innocentem reputare, quem nec propria confessio, nec attestatio quolibet aliena conuincit Neque enim ipsum pro simplici delatione tua condemnari canonicus ordo permittit, praesertim cum te eum aliquando exosum habuisse constet, nec adhuc rancorem ueteris iracundie sepelisse.

Orders the abbot
to take him back.

Per presentia itaque scripta tibi ¹ mandamus, ut eum in claustrum cum ceteris fratribus sine dilatione, salua omni pristini status sui integritate, recipias, nec ullis eum molestus inquietes, sed tanto eum benigniori caritate confoueas, quanto ipsum es seueriori ² uehementia persecutus. Ad benigni siquidem patris amplexum filialis deuotio conualescit, et, sicut odia prouocantur iniuriis, sic benignitate gratia comparatur. Quod si fraternitas tua presentibus detrectauerit obedire mandatis, ab altaris officio te noueris ea, qua tibi preminemus, auctoritate suspensum, donec et fratri de iniuria et nobis sit de contemptu ordine iudiciali satisfactum Nosse siquidem debes in eo, qui religionem professus est, inobedientiam crimen esse, ipsumque ad exactissimam diligentiam teneri, qui obedientiam prelato suo uua uoce et scripto, iuramento etiam corporaliter interueniente, adhibita salutifere crucis impressione, signauit.

¹ tibi scripta, E

² seueriore, E

20. To William de Passavant, bishop of Le Mans.

[c 1159] D², E, Axx^a. Ad Willelmum, Cenomanensem episcopum.¹

fo 9.

Dominus Radulfus, thesaurarius Rothomagensis,^{2 a} amicus noster est, compertumque habet quod ego apud sanctitatem uestram iamdudum plurimam sim gratiam consecutus. Inde est quod nostra apud uos intercessione postulat adiuuari, quoniam in duobus se grauari conuenitur super assignatione loci, quem uos ei et domino Pictauiensi^b ad agendum de causa, que inter eos uertitur, assignastis. Cum enim ciuitas uestra in medio sit fere³ constituta, paulo tamen a Rothomagensi ciuitate remotior, uos eum quasi in occursum aduersarii sui ad ulteriora loca trahere destinastis. In quo uidetur ei quod affectio uestra in fauorem opposite partis ceperit esse procliuior, quia statim ei de spatii distributione adeo propitius extitistis, ut aduersario xl. tantum miliaria ad ueniendum, et ei centum, ipsaque importuniora, prefixeritis ad eundem. Quod si ei censuistis pro episcopali reuerentia deferendum, id eatenus faciendum est ne in onus aut preiudicium alterius liberalitas effusa procedat. Sic enim inter partes media debet esse iudicantis religio,⁴ ut liberam de pari singulis exhibeat equitatem, ne sententiam dictasse uideatur affectio, sed iusticia rationis instrumentis compensata formasse. Rogat igitur, nosque pro eo supplicamus attentius, ut locus eis ad agendum, facta equius spatii distributione, Cenomannis assignetur aut citra, ut et nos interesse possimus, quia, ob familiaritatem utriusque partis et gratiam, plurimam inter eos componendi fiduciam optinemus. De alterius uero loci et temporis assignatione de uobis conqueri pars illa non poterit, quoniam hic citatus semel pro simplici absentia condempnari non potest, donec secundo uel tercio etiam fortasse citatus sit, ut pro multiplici absentia de manifesta contumacia condempnetur. Valete⁵

On behalf of
Ralph de Warneville, who is dissatisfied with the place appointed for hearing the case between him and the bishop of Poitiers.

¹ Domino Cenoman', A² Roth thes, E³ ² transposed to fere sit, D²⁴ deuotio uel religio, E⁵ om, E.

^a Ralph de Warneville, treasurer of Rouen and treasurer of Normandy (Haskins, *Norman institutions*, p 180, n, 130), royal chancellor 1173-81, and bishop of Lisieux to succeed Arnulf, 1181

^b If the date is correct, Laurence, who was elected in 1159 after the see had been vacant for two years, is indicated

21. To Hugh d'Amiens, archbishop of Rouen.^a*D*², *E*, *A*[*P* c 1159]

fo. 9.

Request for an
elaboration of
his judicial
victory over
the abbot of
Fecamp.
fo 9^v

xxi^a Ad Hugonem, Rothomagensē archiepiscopum

Super iniuria, quam nobis infert dominus Fiscannensis,^b litteras uestre maiestatis¹ accepimus, continentes quod ipse nobis sacerdotem ad ecclesiam illam, de qua agitur, per manum uestram consensit offeri² Et nos | nimirum sancte et benigne nobis³ diligētie uestre gratias agimus, sed uersutū hominis timemus astutias, ne hoc facto et prudentiā uestram circumuenire, et iusticie nostre preiudiciū comparare disponat Iudicatum enim est inter nos, et a delegatis ab apostolica sede iudicibus imperatum, ut nobis ablata restituat, et excommunicatos ad satisfac[t]ionem⁴ uenire compellat, sacerdotem offerat, per quem et ecclesiam et populum nobis, tanquam pastori et episcopo animarum suarum, faciat obedire. In quo, si de alterius et non de ipsius manu suscipimus sacerdotem, non restituta nobis uidebitur sed sequestrata possessio, plurimumque hoc poterit partem nostram, cum de dominio tractabitur, impedire. Sed nec ad obsequendum iudicibus sola sufficit sacerdotis oblatio, nisi et ea, que prescripta sunt, nobis integre fecerit exhiberi Si tamen ad presens de ea inter nos compositione⁵ tractaretur, que omne in futuro litigium tolleret, possemus ad omnem temperantiam consilio uestre paternitatis adduci, sed aduersario, ad pugnam se totis uiribus accingenti, uires addere non est imprudentis tantum hominis sed insani.

¹ sanctitatis uel maiestatis, *E*² offerre, *E*³ uobis, *A*⁴ satisfactionem, *A*⁵ compositone, *A*

^a 1130-64 He dedicated a work to Arnulf, and Arnulf composed an epitaph for Hugh See above, p xxii, n. 6

^b Henry de Sully, a scion of the family of Blois-Champagne (for Arnulf's relations with the house, see above, p xiv), was monk of Cluny, and abbot of the Benedictine convent of Fécamp in the diocese of Rouen, c 1140-89. He was also an unsuccessful or reluctant candidate for the sees of Salisbury, York and Lincoln For Fécamp's jurisdiction over parishes, see Lemarignier, *Étude sur les privilèges d'exemption et de juridiction ecclésiastique des abbayes Normandes*, and above, p xxxviii Archbishop Hugh confirmed these privileges (*G C.*, xi, *instr.* 23).

22. To Mr. Peter Helias.^a[c. 1159] D², E, A
fo. 6^vxvij^a Ad magistrum Petrum Helye

Si ab adolescente nostro ^b laudabilis indoles et industria sperata defecit, certus sum a magistro nec doctrinam nec diligentiam defecisse. Debueram uobis, si se tractabilem prebuisset, sed pluris me constituit fluxa eius ¹ et repugnans insolentia debitorem. Quanto enim in eo prosecutio uestra minus inuenit obsequii, tanto plus laboris impendi, plus molestiarum oportuit sustineri. Est igitur uoluntas nostra quod redeat, ut tam a nobis quam a patre fratribusque correptus, ² possit ad uos aliquando mutata in melius uoluntate reuerti.

Requests the return from the schools of a young canon whose conduct is unsatisfactory

23. To the cardinals, John of Naples, William of Pavia, Henry of Pisa and Hyacinth Orsini.^c[October–December 1159.] D²; E, Axxv^a Ad Iohannem Neopolitanum et Willelmum Papiensem cardinales.³ fo 17

Audita sancte Romanę ecclesię turbatione, condolui, quia dolorem Laments the schism,

¹ huius, A, over erasure, D²² correctus, E³ Ad Will et Io Pap card, E, Ad H Pisan' et Io' Neapolit' et Iac' cardinales, A

^a A grammarian at Paris, known as a commentator on Priscian. John of Salisbury studied rhetoric under him between 1140 and 1142 (R. L. Poole, 'The Masters of the Schools at Paris and Chartres in John of Salisbury's time', in *Studies in chronology and history* (Oxford, 1934), p. 244, and Webb, *John of Salisbury*, p. 9), and he is mentioned in the *Metamorphosis Goliath Episcopi*, which was composed c. 1142 (Poole, *op cit*, p. 240). He was still active in 1166, possibly at Poitiers (Letter of John of Salisbury, *Materials*, v, 348). It is quite possible that Arnulf had met him at Paris.

^b The editors of the *HL* (xii, 486) think that this was Hugh de Nonant, Arnulf's nephew, but it seems an unwarrantable conclusion.

^c The two editions have different lists of cardinals, but probably the letter was sent to all supporters of Alexander, and covered no 24. John of Naples, a Victorine, was cardinal-priest of St. Anastasia. William of Pavia, cardinal-priest of St. Peter ad Vincula, and Henry of Pisa, cardinal-priest of St. Nereus and St. Achilles, were two of the legates sent to further the papal cause in France in 1159/60. Hyacinth was cardinal-deacon of St. Mary in Cosmedin, and later Pope Celestine III. For the activities of these cardinals at this time, see W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III*. For the letter, see above, p. xl.

rejoices in the
election of
Alexander,

and recounts his
efforts with King
Henry
fo. 17^v.

matris audire sine compassione non poteram filius specialis Michi enim dolor ille specialius incombebat, quem ipsa semper hactenus tanta caritate dilexit, tanta familiaritate dignata est, tot beneficis et honoribus illustravit Postmodum autem audito in cuius personam omnium fere vota conuenerant, merorem gaudio, plorationem cythara, uocem planctus organo commutavi Gaius siquidem sum paucos a generali concordia descivisse, quorum numerus nichil aut parum unitati catholice poterit derogare Gaius, inquam, quia ei rerum summa commissa est, per quem facile restauranda libertas ecclesie creditur et honestas

Porro mea non fuit interim ociosa deuotio, sed apud eos, in quorum oculis deus michi dedit aliquid auctoritatis et gratie, causam ecclesie peroravi, et principem nostrum, regem Anglie, in fauorem partis¹ huius primus et solus, adhibito quod oportuit instantie, confirmaui. Profecto uenissem iam ad pedes apostolice beatitudinis amplectendos, et miscendum desiderabile cum uestra caritate colloquium, nisi, belligerante in partibus nostris principe,^a multis me importunitatibus necessitas improba detineret. Uestre itaque benignitatis erit et gratie absentiam meam interim apud eum uestra supplere presentia, obsequiumque meum, si aliqua parte uidebitur oportunum, offerre; quoniam ad omne, quod paucis michi fuerit apicibus indicatum, paratus sum ei et uobis tota deuotione totam impendere facultatem.

24. To Pope Alexander III.^b

D^a, E, A

[October–December 1159.]

fo. 11

xxij^a Ad dominum papam Alexandrum de promotione sua.²

God's mercy to-
wards the Church.

Benedictus deus et³ pater domini nostri Ihesu Christi, qui ecclesiam suam, immaculatam scilicet sponsam dilecti filii sui, mirabili semper benignitate diligit et conseruat. Licet enim ipsam

¹ patris, D^a, patris *expunged* and partis *in margin*, A

² add et intrusione Octouiani, A ³ om, A

^a On his return from Toulouse in October, Henry reduced the castles of barons who had been instigated to rebellion by Louis, and a truce with the French king followed in December 1159 (Tongni, pp 205–6)

^b See above, p xl This letter probably accompanied no 23 The pope replied on 1 April 1160 (printed Giles no 22)

aliquibus quandoque | uexari patiatur iniurus, facit tamen cum *fo 11^v*
 temptatione prouentum, ut possit sustinere, nec umquam portas
 inferi aduersus eam preualere permittit Neque enim expedit ut *1 Cor x, 13*
 continue prosperitatis status eam insolentem reddat, uel ociositas *Matt xvi, 18*
 negligentem,¹ sed humilitatem conseruet afflictio, et uexatio
 tribuat intellectum Et ei quidem *omnia cooperantur in bonum*, *Rom viii, 28*
 dum ipsa *tanquam aurum in fornace* probatur, et ad augmentum *Sap iii, 6*
 corone cuncta proficiunt, dum eam uis aduersitatis fortiolem reddit,
 et malignitatis infestatio cautionem Ipse uero miserator et mise-
 ricors² dominus ad tempora tribulationis uiros uirtutis et consili
 prouidet³ et preformat, qui temeritatis audaciam repellere ualeant,
 et a malignitatis astucia nouerint declinare

Quod in sancte et gloriose recordationis Innocentio papa satis *Praise of Pope*
 euidenter apparuit, qui extollentem se aduersus omne *quod dicitur* *Innocent II*
aut quod colitur deus deiecit hereticum, quem nobilitas generis, quem *2 Thes 11, 4.*
 diuitiarum cumulus, quem pecatrix eloquentia, quem prudentia
 secularis, quem denique secularium hominum fauor publicus attolle-
 bat⁴ Preualuit⁴ in athleta dei ueritas falsitatis, et humilitati
 robuste superba cessit ambitio, et de iniquitate iusticia triumphauit.
 Vidimus siquidem ipsum exaltatum et eleuatum sicut cedros Libani, *Ps lxxvi, 35-6*
 et transiimus, et ecce non erat, quesiuimus, et non est inuentus
 locus eius, quia nec inter mortuos tumulum neque⁵ titulum meruit
 sepulture Dominus autem sublimauit cornu Christi sui, ut in eo
 unitas ecclesie reformari posset, et regnum ipsius omnibus dominari.
 Memini ego, nec id a uestra reor excidisse memoria, quanta ad
 mandata eius principes reuerentia mouerentur, quam sullimis
 extiterit, quantaque maiestate refulsit ecclesia, quantum in diebus *Cf p 3*
 eius religio munda et immaculata profecerit, adeo ut plures hodie
 religiosorum deserta contineant, quam ferarum olim habuerint
 bestiarum Arbitrabatur ille ad regendos homines⁶ utendum potius
 sobrie seueritatis disciplina quam remisse misericordie lenitate, *fo 12.*
 deo potius quam hominibus placere desiderans, ne ob gratiam
 hominum coram deo posset contemptibilis apparere Vnde et
 uirtus eius semper inter aduersa maior enituit, nec tanta post-

¹ negligentem, A, 1 over e expunged, D²

² misericors et miserator, A ³ prouidet, E ⁴ insert tamen, E.

⁵ uel, E ⁶ add ad, E

⁴ Peter Leonis, the anti-Pope Anacletus Cf Arnulf's description of him
 in his *Inuectiva*, cap 3

Jer xvii, 5

Papal schisms.

modum prosperitatis eius insignia claruerunt, quanta precedentis aduersitatis adhuc magnalia celebrantur Neque enim confidebat in homine, neque carnem ponebat brachium suum, sed potius confidebat in domino, et erat dominus fiducia eius

Porro scismata hec in ecclesia Romana frequentius accidisse etiam Lateranensis palatii picture demonstrant, ubi catholicorum patrum pedibus pro scabello scismatici presumptores ascripti sunt, ubi superbiorum et sullimium colla sapientia propria u[er]tute conterit et conculcat ^a Quod sane ea ratione factum est, ut sanctis patribus cedat ad gloriam uictorię testis ascriptio, in qua presumptores illi uel compressionis penam sustinent, uel presumptionis ueniam deprecantur Unde et sancti apostolatus uestri cathedra sine scabello esse non debuit, sed nobiliore ¹ scabello debuit illustrari Neque enim incerta uobis est aut longinqua uictoria, sed humilitas uerecundie uestre punitur ad tempus, que congregatis in spiritu sancto patribus distulit obedire. Pari etenim culpe tenetur obnoxius, qui uocationem domini preuenit uel recusat oblatam Redibit tamen in proximo, deo uolente, serenitas, et modica hec ad radios ueri solis nebula dissoluetur, et, ² redintegrata unitate catholica, ab omni parte pedibus uestris uniuersitas fidelis occurret

Arnulf recognizes
Alexander

Interim autem quecumque ceteros studia remorentur, quibuscumque desideris prophana trahatur ambitio, quantacumque temeritate detestabilis erumpat inuidia, ego, minor licet omnibus, non minore tamen gaudio quam ceteri, gloriam uestre promotionis amplector, et uos, apostolum Christi, Petri uicarium, pastorem et episcopum omnium qui Christiano nomine censeantur, agnosco, et uobiscum catholicam profiteor unitatem. Gaudeo itaque quoniam dies desideratus, dies scilicet exultationis illuxit, quo reuera restitutam credimus uirtutibus gratiam, uirgam | uicis, terrorem principibus, ecclesie libertatem Gaudeo, inquam, quia ³ ex hoc nunc sermo dei non erit alligatus, sed uerbum eius, quod in ore uestro uerum est, quod impossibile credebatur, facili consummabit effectum Properassem igitur iam ad pedes uestre beatitudinis amplectendos, ut ariditatem meam quasi copiosior de proximo benedictionis uestre rigaret ubertas, nisi me zelus utilitatis uestre maxime tenuisset

fo. 12^a.

cf. pp. 4, 141, 170
and 188.

His efforts with
the king,

¹ nobiliori, E.² om, A; inserted, D²³ quoniam, E

^a These pictures seem to have made a great impression on contemporaries, cf. John of Salisbury, ep no 59, *M P L*, cxcix, 39

opposite presumptionis error innotuit, festinaui ad nostri notitiam principis id perferre, ut uacantem animum eius fauore uestro quibus debebam persuasionibus occuparem, ne nos qualibet occasione malignitatis astutia preueniret ^a Facilius etenim est animos occupare uacantes, quam ipsos a conceptis affectibus reuocare Hesit ille aliquamdiu, sed statim operante spiritus sancti gratia confirmatus, nullum se alium quam uos suscepturum hylari constantia constantique simul hylaritate promisit In quo, cum proxime de differenda uestra susceptione imperatoris litteras accepisset, cui, discurrentibus inuicem litteris et legatis, plurima uidetur caritate coniunctus, ne¹ preces eius spreuisse, et in preiudicium eius festinasse uideretur, generale quidem suppresit edictum, sed nequaquam manus aut linguam a litterarum nominisque uestri ueneratione continuit, neque quemquam nostrum uoluit continere Arbitratus est ² siquidem minus ualituram pro uobis edicti iactantiam quam operis ueritatem Firma apud eum est et indubitata uestri apostolatus auctoritas, atque in quamcumque partem cor predicti principis fuerit inclinatum, iste procul dubio non sequetur errantem.

who is disposed to recognize Alexander,

but withholds a general edict lest he offend the Emperor Frederick

Mei autem studii erit omnes circa eum quasi uigilias obseruare, Plans and advice ne ora loquentium iniqua conualeant, sed ipse in uestra, sicut semel incepit, obedientia perseueret Felicem enim me, inquam, si umquam in hoc uel in alio beneficentie uestre gratus inueniar, ut deuotionis mee saltem inter ceteros aliquando uelit uestra dignatio reminisci. Vestrum quoque est, quotiens refulget occasio, prouintias omnes frequentibus uisitare mandatis, ut ab omni parte nomini uestro et obedientie pariter assuescant, | quia non erit qui uel litteras *fo. 13* non recipere uel mandatis audeat obuiare.

25. To Walter, cardinal-bishop of Albano.^b

[? 1160] D², E, A

xxxvii(j)^a. Ad Walterum,³ Albanensem episcopum

fo 31

Querimoniam, quam ex litteris quas michi a uobis ⁴ nouissime destinatas accepi, gratam admodum habui, quia magis excitare gratiam quam delictum arguere uidebatur Questus enim ⁵ estis

Excuses for not writing, and many pleasant sentiments

¹ nec, A, c *erased*, D²

² om, E.

³ G, A

⁴ om a uobis, A, *inserted*, D²

⁵ om, A, *inserted*, D²

^a Cf previous letter, p 30 and n a

^b 1154-78

fo. 31^v

post aliquot epistolas | uestras nullum uos a nobis accepisse rescriptum, et nos deuotionem uestram inter ceteros non nisi uerbis communibus salutasse.^a In quo intellexi quod benignitas uestra multo desiderio ad complexum nobis mutue caritatis occurrit, quod ego multis quesisse studui, multis debueram obsequiis redemisse. Et fecissem, nisi occasionem michi tulisset absentia, que michi semper hactenus optatum uestre serenitatis inuidit aspectum. Magnum erat michi, si presens in oculis uestris gratiam inuenissem, maius est, quod eam michi ultro usque ad occidentis nouissima destinatis. Pulchrum sane et predicande liberalitatis officium, nullis impensum meritis, nullis redemptum precibus, nullis beneficis comparatum! Nichil in eo est quod benefici minuat maiestatem. Apud alios siquidem actus mere liberalitatis euauit, sed ubique inter contrahentes animos negotium geritur, dum spes creditrix et debitor gratia res compensant.¹ Magnum tamen est hodie, si quis amicorum meritis pari premiorum compensatione respondeat, maius est omne meritum animi magnitudine preuenire. Preuenistis autem me, uestrumque tante dignationis estimatione fecistis, qua² michi iudicium existimationis uestre et dilectionis exhibetis affectum. Multa igitur michi de iudicio existimationis uestre crescit elatio, multa de confidentia gratie securitas ad omnes preparatur euentus. Magnum siquidem est iudicium simul et gratiam meruisse prudentis, cum alterum illustret ad gloriam, alterum proficiat ad prouentum. Quid ergo? Quid retribuam domino meo pro his, que attribuit michi? Nempe totum deuotionis affectum, quo nichil maius offerri, | nichil impendi gratius, nichil potest preciosius estimari. Hoc etenim impenso, totum impenditur quicquid uel animus cogitando, uel operando corpus, uel facultates conferunt³ erogando. Hoc igitur apud uos iudicium michi perseueret et gratia, uobis nichilominus apud me promisse deuotionis non tepescet affectus, ut scilicet alter in alterius oportunitatibus monitore non egeat, sed zelum caritatis alterne communicati⁴ officii probet effectus.

Cf. p. 73

fo. 32.

¹ recompensant, *E*, s. *inserted*, *D*²² offerunt uel conferunt, *E*³ per quam, *E*⁴ *altered* to communitati, *E*

^a This seems to be a reference to Arnulf's circulars (no. 23) to the supporters of Alexander III.

26. To Ralph de Diceto, archdeacon of London ^a[? March 1160] D², E, AAd Radulfum de Diceto, Londoniensem archidiaconum.¹fo 10^v.

Audiui te causa studiorum Parisius aduenisse, audiui et letatus sum. Letatus equidem ut eius, quem diligebam, presens me letificaret aspectus, et iocunda colloctionis alterne collatio delectaret. Optabam quoque ut aliqua exhibendi tibi officii refulgeret occasio, cuius me dudum merita preuenerunt. Licet enim solum ueritas amicitie requirat affectum, liberale tamen obsequium non excludit, sed eo potius illustratur, quoniam, ut ait sanctus ille, *probatio dilectionis exhibitio est operis*^b. Mouet autem quod, cum secundo iam ueneris, nolueris ad amicum nec ad momentum etiam declinare, neque saltem per cursorem debite salutationis alloquium paucis consignatum apicibus destinare. Hesi diutius, quotiensque ab illis partibus aliquis apparebat, diuinabam quod ille michi iocundum Radulfi² mei nuntiaret aduentum. Frustratus totiens, ex hoc nunc nichil audeo diuinare, sed caritatem tuam litteris duxi presentibus, si forte obdormierit, excitandam; aut, si quem forte concepit falsa suspitione languorem, de perseuerantiæ meæ nuntio conualescat. Noueris enim nichil tibi apud me de pristina caritate perisse, sed quasi duplicatus amor est, cum eum tibi mea mens cogatur exsoluere, quem aliquando duobus impendebat affectum.

Cf Ps xcvi
Complains that
he has heard
nothing from
Ralph on his
arrival at the
Paris schools.

S Greg Mag,
Hom in Euang,
xxv, 1 (M P L,
lxvii).

Sublatus siquidem est e medio communis amicus noster, Radulfus de Flur,^c qui dimidium animæ meæ uidetur moriens abstulisse. Ipsius michi semper est colenda memoria, ipsius amor semper quibuscumque modis id fieri potuerit instaurandus. Duobus autem modis defuncto uicem amicitie iudico rependendam, ut primo scilicet pius apud deum intercessionibus adiuuetur, secundo hi, quos ipse dilexerat, dilectione uicaria diligantur. Inde est quod amor noster ab illo in te, quasi quodam hereditariæ successionis

fo 11
Reveals the
death of their
common friend,
Ralph de Fleury.

¹ Ad Ric' de Diceto [Ditto expunged] Lond' archid', E; Ad Radulf' London' archid', A

² Ricard', A; altered, D²

^a The historian. See Stubbs' introduction to Diceto, pp xxvi, seqq and above, p xvii

^b John of Salisbury is very fond of this quotation, see epp nos 247, 296, 302 (M P L, cxcix, 291, 343, 354)

^c Mentioned as a canon of Lisieux in 1148 (document printed by Haskins, *Norman institutions*, p 322)

iure, transfusus est, ut iam te non simplici sed duplicato complectar affectu Tibi enim pre ceteris hec est deferenda successio, quem ille pre ceteris diligebat, tibi que eam quasi quodam testamento specialis amicitie prerogativa consignat

Protestations of
friendship

Gere igitur suum amicitie morem, certisque clarescat indicis ipsam novas vires de noua duplicatione traxisse Scribe autem interim aliquid, ut in alterius utriusque videar suscepisse sermonem Iniunge quod vis, ut in altero utriusque videar obsequium prestitis

and an invitation
to visit

Uisita nos, ut possim utriusque personam in altero contemplari Scribe, inquam, quia, si scripseris, hoc ipsum tibi studii poterit augere materiam, nec propositi operis proeuertum impedit aut prouentum Iniunge aliquid, ut aliqua amicitie perseuerantis argumenta procedant, quia eam efficacius comprobatur petendi fiducia quam liberalitas offerendi Uisita nos, quia te cum desiderio nostrum, tum loci propinquitas, tum etiam sollempnitas paschalis inuitat Dominus quoque Willermus de Ver^a ex promissione tenetur ut ueniat, uobisque¹ inuicem solatiari poteritis, et nobis sancte sollempnitatis gaudia duplicare Valete.

at Easter
(27 March 1160),
when William de
Vere also is
coming.

27. To Henry of Pisa, cardinal-priest of St. Nereus and St. Achilles.^b

D²; E, A.

[May–July 1160]

fo. 29.

xxxv(j)^a. Ad Henricum Pisanum cardinalem.

The preparations
for the council
of London

In quo uerbo reges nostri de susceptione domini pape conuenerint, uestra sapientia non ignorat. Et noster quidem ad ecclesiasticas personas regni sui legatos destinauit in Angham cum litteris, quas a domino papa receperat,² et scripto illo, quod a scismaticis est de Papiensi conuenticulo fabricatum,^c ut scilicet, utroque scripto

¹ nobisque, A.

² suscepit uel receperat, E

^a For William, see Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 389, and Stubbs, *op cit*, pp. xxxii and liv. This chaplain of Archbishop Theobald carried the result of the council of London, which dealt with the disputed election, to the papacy (see above, p. xl) in July or August 1160 to Henry in Normandy (John of Salisbury, ep. no. 64, *MPL*, cxcix, 48), and perhaps he had been in Normandy before the council and even taken Henry's instructions to London (see next page).

^b See above, p. xl

^c The letter 'Quia sedis', P. Labbe and G. Cossart, *Sacrosancta concilia* (Paris, 1671–2), x, 1392

tanquam allegationibus partium utrinque proposito, rectius possint quasi de iudicio formare consilium, et liquidius de contemplatione falsitatis oppositae cognoscere ueritatem. Cui sane colloquio, quia at which Arnulf will be represented by a letter (no 28)

corporaliter adesse non potui, per epistolam saltem interesse curavi, ut persone uicem pagina suppleat, et uuae uocis instantiam epistola fidelis instauret. Cuius etiam epistole transcriptum sanctitati uestre censui destinandum, ut deuotionem meam, quamuis parum utilem, fo. 29^o

officiosam tamen uestra dilectio recognoscat.

De cetero, librum Ennodii uobis mitto,^a alienum quidem, sed, si experientia uestra probauerit, transcriptum cum quanta fieri poterit festinatione remittam. Ego autem librum illum non uideram, priusquam michi uestro fuisset assignatus inditio, uisoque miratus sum qua primum ab auctore¹ confidentia editus, aut quo postmodum ab aliis fuerit fauore transcriptus. Neque enim michi dignus uidetur, cuius studio uel scripture tantum tempus debeat suae census impendi, cum et uolumen effusum sit, et ad intelligenda quae scripta sunt singula multis et tediosis oporteat iterationibus replicari. Prima siquidem facie difficilis et obscurus incedit, et, cum rerum difficultatem stilus lucidior debeat aperire, intelligentiam potius sermo tenebrosus obtundit. Cumque multum habeat laboris inspectio, nichil habet assecutio uoluptatis, quia nec absolute sententia complacet² nec oratio uenustate. Summa³ eius intentio est alter omnia dixisse⁴ quam ceteri, ideoque totum quod loquitur exquisita quadam intricatione complicat⁵ et innodat, ut rectius innodius quam Ennodius debeat appellari. Porro in metricis producta breuiat, suaeque nichilominus auctoritate breuianda producit, nullaue uitium falsitatis uirtute redimitur, quia ipsum nec cultus orationis nec⁶ dignitas materie recompensat⁷. Unusquisque tamen ad obseruandas propositae legis tenetur angustias, dicendique libertatem neccessitate supprimit quisquis se ad obseruantias huiusmodi arbitrio propriae uoluntatis astringit. Facilem uero duplex culpa ueniam non meretur, cum et intellectum retundit obscuritas et aures metricae corruptio iocunditatis⁸ offendit. Credo ego librum fo. 30^o

hunc apud ueteres nec noticiam habuisse nec gratiam, ideoque nec in manus uenisse multorum,⁹ sed sepultum diutius ueteri quolibet

¹ actore, E ² changed from cum-, D² ³ add enim, E

⁴ dix om., A; transposed, D² ⁵ neque, A; inserted, D²

⁶ changed from iocunditatis, D² ⁷ mult uen., E.

^a See F. J. E. Raby, *A hist. of Christian Latin poetry* (Oxford, 1927), p. 116.

Obscurity of
style considered
a virtue by some

Seneca, Cicero
and Caesar dis-
agree

Aul. Gell.,
1.10.4

armario latuisse, donec nouiter in lucem merito obscuritatis et noua peregrini nominis admiratione processit.

Sunt enim quidam qui eo difficilia maioris estimant, quia minus intellecta mirantur, ea minoris et tanquam puerilia reputant, quae iocunda lucidi serenitas sermonis ¹ illustrat. Ceterum obscuritatem tanquam tenebras euitandam Seneca noster et Tullius et ceteri, quorum scripta comprobantur, ² ostendunt. Iulius quoque Caesar ³ culpabiles esse denuntiat, qui ea uolunt loqui uel scribere quae homines mirentur potius quam intelligant, et se tanquam scopulum ita fugere insolens atque infrequens uerbum. Legite tamen, ipsumque non de estimatione mea sed de uestra potius experientia iudicate, ne meritis eius ignorantia mea preiudicium irrogasse dicatur ipsumque uestri fauoris sententia defraudasse. Quod si irrefragabilem queritis de prosa ferre sententiam, ipsam secundum uersuum merita iudicate, quia uerum est ipsum pari peritia circa tempora sillabarum et dictionum naturam uirtutemque uersari. Valete ⁴

28. To the archbishops and bishops of England.^a

D², E, A.

[May-July 1160]

fo. 14^o.

xxiij^a Ad archiepiscopos et episcopos Anglie ⁵

The plight of
the Church.

Quanta tempestate laboret ecclesia, atque in quanto uideatur periculo constituta, uestra, quos hic dolor tangit, prudentia non

¹ serm. seren, A, transposed, D².

² changed from cum-, D²

³ add uir illustris eloquentie, E

⁴ om, E

⁵ add de susceptione domini pape Alexandri, A

^a See above, p xl Ohnsorge, *op cit*, pp 21, *seqq*, concludes that the London synod was held after the continental synods (which, it is agreed, met about July 22), and was a part of Henry's policy of delay. On the other hand, in *EHR*, I, 264, I held that it took place in June before the meetings on the Norman-French border. Ohnsorge's general reasoning is plausible, but his interpretation of the passage in Arnulf's letter (below, p 42), on which his conclusion depends, seems doubtful. He interprets Arnulf's reference to the activity of the French Church on behalf of Alexander as an account of the synod of Beauvais, and says that Arnulf makes no reference to the complementary Norman synod of Neufmarché because of the contrasting tone of its results (note 56). The crucial evidence is Arnulf's, *Sed quia inter ipsum et principem nostrum . nouiter est reformata concordia*, etc (below, p 42), which Ohnsorge indeed interprets as a reference to the peace between Henry and Louis in May (note 56), but gives the phrase no importance in determining the chronology of the events narrated there. He explains it as giving the general cause of Louis' complaisance. For Gilbert Foliot's praise of the letter, see *Materials*, v, 16, and for Arnulf's reasons for writing, see no. 27.

ignorat Et filii quidem Babilonis prospiciunt et exultant, qui, quasi certum auspicantes de procellarum quantitate naufragium, ad diripiendas sarcinas et ipsa naufragii tabulata concurrunt Nobis autem securitatem prestat diuina promissio, qua portas inferi aduersus eam preualere non sinit, sed uexationis iniurias uictorie certitudo compensat. Neque enim desperationi locus est, ubi causam rectitudo commendat, et uirtutem patientie interim firmat conscientia ueritatis

Matt xvi, 18

Cause siquidem nostre nec ignota ueritas est, nec incerta iusticia, sed res luce clarior et prauitatis nube negotium purgat et omni iudicium absoluit errore Si enim persona persone comparetur,¹ nostram perfectio scientie et omnium uirtutum format integritas, quod non magis nostre quam aduersarie quoque partis testimonio confirmatur Alteri uero, si nobilitas generis^a et quesita ob hoc ipsum potentium gratia subtrahatur, non erit unde ad maiestatis apostolice fastigium audeat aspirare Sed, etsi facta electionum inuicem conferantur, electionem nostram omni ordine, omni solempnitate, omni denique ratione subnixam, alteram plenam impudentia constat, et omni² rationis amminiculo destitutam Nunquid enim unius episcopi, ipsiusque quem nostis, et duorum cardinalium^b totius ecclesie preiudicabit auctoritas, et, reprobata uniuersitate catholica, intra quaternitatis huius angustias coartata credetur? Nunquid consecrationi, rite ac solempniter per eam, cuius interest, multitudinem celebrate, ea, que postmodum per paucas ipsasque emendicatas³ manus contracta est, poterit preualere? Nunquid impudentiam coniecti sibi propriis manibus indumenti minax redemptorum satellitum uiolentia consecrabit?

The justice of Alexander's cause
Comparison between Victor (Octavian) and Alexander

fo 15

Certum siquidem est Octauianum ecclesiam beati Petri, cum ibi celebranda foret electio, armatorum copia compleuisse, ut quod de meritis suis et sanctorum patrum gratia non sperabat, strictis in ceruices resistentium gladius, usurparet^c Denique, consensu

Description of the disputed election Cf p. 45.

¹ compararetur, E ² omnis, E ³ mendicatas, A, e inserted, D²

^a See below, p 43, n a

^b Imar of Tusculum, who consecrated Octavian, and Guy of Crema, cardinal-deacon of St Mary in Porticu 1146, cardinal-priest of St Calixtus 1158, anti-Pope Paschal III 1164, and John of Mercene, cardinal-priest of St Silvester and St Martin 1150

^c Cf the accounts of the election given by Romuald of Salerno, *Chronicon*, ed C A Garufi (*Rerum Ital Script*, new edition, vol vii, 1914), pp 243-4, by Gerhoh of Reichersberg, 'De Investigatione Antichristi', ed E Sackur in

omnium in personam sanctissimi patris Alexandri firmato, dum ipse laudabili uerecundia renuit et excusat, impositumque sibi manibus fere omnium pluuiale repellit, dissimulare ulterius ambitio non potuit uel differre; sed effusa temeritate, nullo adhuc, sicut dicitur, cardinalum prosequente, cucurrit ad cathedram, ea nimirum fiducia quod, inutis armatis, non posset ab inermibus amoueri. Pari quoque palatium festinatione conscendit, ut primus utranque uideretur cathedram insedis, ut ¹quem iure non poterat, saltem de festinatione sortiretur ascensum, quo predicti tres eum de tota uniuersitate secuti sunt. Alii, gladius discurrentibus ²territi, cum electo suo in munitionem proximam concesserunt, ubi eos aduersarius ille nouem diebus obsessos gladius tenuit et inclusos, exiguum, sicut poterant, alimoniam toto illo tempore mendicantes. Vnde etiam sibi mentiendi causam componit iniquitas, asserens Octavianum, priusquam alter eligeretur, per nouem dies apostolatus cathedram solitarium insedis, quasi ille ab initio, licet renuerit, non fuisset electus, unusque uolenta possessio sanctificare iniusticiam et ambitionis audaciam ualeat expiare. Porro illi, de carcere beneficio senatus educti, ad locum, quo apostolica insignia seruabantur, domino miserante, perducti sunt, ut electio manciparetur effectui, et electus gratiam consecrationis per manum Hostiensis episcopi, ad quem hoc iure speciali pertinebat, acciperet. Denique cardinales et episcopi, qui per diuersas prouintias legationis | fungebantur officio, ad eum pari deuotione conuersi sunt, totique iam ecclesie dei indubitate tranquillitatis serenitas arrideret, nisi homo ille ad preparatum imperatoris auxilium transfugisset.

fo 15^v.

Behaviour of the
Emperor
Frederick I.

Uerum ille, glorie sue et non dei sedulus emulato, desiderii complendi quod de proauorum exemplo conceperat, occasionem letabundus accepit. Nostis enim predecessores eius ad subiugandam ditioni sue Romanam ecclesiam a longis retro temporibus aspirasse, ipsosque aduersus eam semper uel suscitasse uel fouisse scismaticos, quo magis in iura eius, cui ipsi ministerium debeant,³ affectatum possent imperium exercere, eamque ad suam conuerso ordine non disponere, sed euertere uoluntatem. Bene tamen, quoniam quisquis

¹ ? altered to et, D²

² discurr glad, A, transposed, D²

³ debebant, E, b expunged, D²

ad hanc de confidentia potestatis illius prorupit audaciam, in ruinam sibi factus est ceteris in exemplum, quo confusa deinceps cessaret elatio, et sua ecclesie dei dignitas et reuerentia seruaretur. Ceterum hic blanda scismatici desperantis humilitione seductus est, dum ille personam suam arbitrio eius exponit et causam, neque se quicquam fore, nisi de sola ipsius uoluntate, presumit. Vnde et ad pedes eius ipsa dicitur apostolatus insignia resignasse, posteaque de manu ipsius inuestituram accepisse per anulum, ut, ueteri scilicet questione composita, regnum plane de sacerdotio, de spiritualibus temporalia, de ecclesiasticis uiderentur secularia triumphasse. Indignum facinus, omnibusque seculis detestanda malicia, ordinationem scilicet diuinam qualibet temeritate conuertere, et redemptam sanguine Christi perimere libertatem!

Predictus itaque princeps, negotium suum tanquam sub umbra pietatis exercens, ecclesiasticum congregauit seculari potestate conuentum, ut presumptionem scismatici illius proprio roboraret assensu, et quos posset ad obedientiam illius tyrannice potestatis terroribus inclinaret, ea siquidem intentione, ut utriusque gladiu uirtute coniuncta pristinam reformet imperi maiestatem, ut utriusque inuicem cooperante potentia omnia regna proprie subiciat fo 16
ditioni. Porro illi, quos scismatico conciliauerat neccessitas aut uoluntas, falsitatis et blasphemie symbolum conscripserunt, ut quod de ueritate non possunt, saltem conquisite multitudinis suffragio preualere credantur.¹ Quod scriptum, si forte contigerit ad sapientie uestre uenire conspectum, multa plenum falsitate credatis, licet etiamsi absolutam contineret in omnibus ueritatem, nichil, quod ibi dispositum sit, aliquem de iure sortiretur effectum. Neque enim arbitrium dici potest, ad quod uoluntaria parcium compromissio non astringit, nec iudicialis sententia, que nec ab ordinaria iurisdictione nec a delegata procedit. Sed et causam communem priuata auctoritate decidere qua arrogantia presumpserunt, nobisque, tanquam inferioribus, imponere magistratum, quos diuina bonitas pares ordine et eadem spectabiles constituit dignitate? Sed neque causa dici debet, ubi inter consentientes nullum potuit esse litigium, neque sine contradictione questio uel formari potuit uel absolui. Ad hec, si quod de Octauiano factum est, ab initio forte non ualuit, ex post facto istorum nullo iure ualuit confirmari, cum ipse iam

The council of
Pavia, 5-13 Feb-
ruary 1160

¹ credatur, E

^a See p. 36, note c

ab eo, qui poterat, condemnationis sententiam debiteque penam anathematis excepisset Scio sapientiam uestram ualidioribus argumentis potioribusque rationibus habundare, ut Papiense illud conc[il]i[abulum] nullus reputetis extitisse momenti, et a uobis etiam minus intelligentium simplicitas ualeat edoceri

The sympathy of
the French
Church

Benedictus autem pater misericordiarum et deus totius consolationis, qui ecclesie Gallicane solitam misericordiam benignus impendit, ut eam semper et agnitione ueritatis illustret, et pedes eius a iusticie tramite nullatenus aberrare permittat Sicut enim omnes, quos ad oppressionem Romane ecclesie rabida Teutonici furoris prouexit inuidia, uirtus altissimi manifesta deiecit, sic omnibus, quos deuotio Gallicana ¹ suscepit, uictoriam semper contulit et triumphum. Cumque multis constet ceteras regiones habundasse | portentis, sola Gallia monstra non habuit, sed sinceritate fidei, doctrine ueritate ², uirtutum quoque titulis, et plurima operum ³ exhibitione prefulsit. Unde nunc quoque personarum penitus qualitate discussa, factisque electionum plenius exploratis, in personam sanctissimi patris Alexandri de uere catholici et serenissimi regis sui beneplacito conuenerunt, litterasque eius et nuntios passim et suscipiunt et honorant. Sed quia inter ipsum et principem nostrum, deo uolente, nouiter est reformata concordia, ⁴ placuit ob gratiam ipsius ad momentum differre publicande susceptionis edictum, donec iste noster ecclesiam regni sui consuluisse posset, et, quod mente concepit, assensus uestri conuentia confirmasse.

fo. 16^v

Its official recognition delayed
by a peace between Henry and
Louis, and a concerted
announcement
is to be made

The attitude of
King Henry.

Neque enim prudentiam regalis excellentie decuit aliquid super tanto negotio, inconsulta uestra sapientia, diffinire, ne gloriam suam alteri dedisse uideretur, et reuerentiam uestram minoris quam debuit estimasse. Que tamen super hoc ipsius ab initio uoluntas extiterit, multis declarauit inditus et expressit, quoniam patris Alexandri nuntios et litteras cum reuerentia semper excepit et gratia, nulumque se alium suscepturum, adhibita sepe coram omnibus asseueratione, predixit Porro litteras Octauiani oblatas renuit manu regia, uelut immundum aliquid sordidumque, contingere, sed in contemptum eius lignee tabelle, ⁴ quam ipse de puluere sustulit, manibus ⁵ offerentis impositas, ipse statim coram nuntio post dorsum

¹ callicana, A; altered, D²

³ caritatis, A, inserted, D²

² uirtute, A; over uirtute, D²

⁴ tabule, A; altered, D².

⁵ manus, E.

^a A truce in December and a peace in May (Torigni, pp 206 and 207).
For the terms see H.F., xvi, 21

suum quam sublimius potuit, risu multitudinis que aderat prosequente, proiecit. Ex his igitur manifestum est uoluntatem eius in fauorem domini Alexandri sine omni ambiguitate firmatam, ipsumque uestrum magis ob reuerentiam quesisse consilium, quam pro absoluenda qualibet super hoc negotio questione

Solent enim ¹ principes dominique terrarum maiora negotia quadam semper mora suspendere, ut dilatione crescat auctoritas, et maior leticia desideria protracta consummet Super quo plane, cum in idem fauor principis ueritasque concurrant, manifeste uobis uiam responsionis gratia diuine bonitatis assignat Oportet tamen | uos propter aliquos, qui inter uos sunt, sollicitè providere, qui se scismatico illi dicunt cognatione coniunctos,^a ne malignitas forte preualeat, et eam, que ex deo est, supplantet carnis affectio caritatem Sed, cum uniuersitas uestra conuenerit, nolite quorumlibet expectare sententias, nec eorum timeatis offensam, sed conceptum statim in uirtute spiritus usurpate sermonem, ne dissimulatio uestra prauitati prestet audaciam, uestroque silentio blasphemiarum primitiæ conualescant Tempestiuus ² igitur zelus iusticiæ per os uestrum de libertate conscientię et confidentia ueritatis erumpat, ut quasi quodam spirituali tonitruo terreatur iniquitas, et preparata ad subuersionem fidei fallacia suffocetur

The procrastination of kings

fo 17

Advice and exhortation

Dominus mentes uestras in bonum sua pietate ³ dirigat et confirmet, ut ecclesię eius studio uestro reformetur integritas, et que uos tantis ultro beneficis et honore preuenit, gratos in opportunitate sentiat et fideles.

29. To the College of Cardinals.^b

[November–December 1160] ^{D²}; E, A

xxvj^a Ad cardinales ⁴ Romane ecclesię de electione domini pape Alexandri ⁵

fo 17^v

Quam utilis apud principes nostros ad agnitionem sancti aposto-

¹ etiam, enim *expunged*, A, etiam *expunged*, D²

² tempestiuus, A, ¹ *inserted*, D² ³ bonitate, E ⁴ *add* sancte, E.

⁵ Ad Gisl' Lond' et Hyl' Citest' et Wil' Norwic' episcopos Anglie, A.

^a Henry, bishop of Winchester, and Hugh, bishop of Durham, were said to be supporters of Octavian (John of Salisbury, ep no 59, *MPL*, cxcix, 43) Octavian claimed to be a relative of King Stephen (John of Salisbury, *Historia pontificalis*, p 45, and see Dr Poole's explanation in Appendix IV), and so would be related to the bishop of Winchester

^b For the matter see above, p 21, and for the form, p lxxviii, n 1.

Arnulf's success-
ful efforts on
behalf of Pope
Alexander

latus, reuerentissimi domini et patris nostri Alexandri pape, diligencia nostre deuotionis extiterit, ad noticiam uestram fidelium relatione perueniet aut ¹ peruenit Neque enim necessaria michi est in hac parte iactantia, ut rei uobis ² ueritas innotescat, quoniam, me etiam dissimulante, latere non poterit quod Normannia tota mirata est, et ipsa de longinquo nichilominus Anglia recognouit

The victory of the
Alexandrine
party

Bene autem michi, quia iam fructum diligentie huius premiumque laboris accipio, quoniam salua michi est gloria mea, testimonium scilicet conscientie mee, penes quam gratie apostolice plenitudinem et indubitata diuine benedictionis percipio ueritatem Gaudeo itaque sciens me reuera matris mee gremio contineri, ipsiusque sacris foueri complexibus, et sinceris uberibus allactari Gaudeo, inquam, cognoscens quam obstinato scismatici³ miserande cecitatis claudantur errore, quorum oculos circumfuse lucis radi non illustant, sed ipse potius excedens manifeste fulgor claritatis offundit Iudicati sunt, debitamque commissi | reatus excepere sententiam, quos ecclesia, tanquam degeneres Sathane, tradidit in interitum carnis et a catholica depulit unitate. Neque caret executione sententia, sed indilato mancipatur effectui, cum eos interim et conscientia torqueat, et imminens cothidie preualentis ecclesie triumphus affligat. Porro benignius ecclesie sue sapientia diuina prouidit, manifestam faciens omnibus ueritatem, ut nec simplicitas ignorantiam, nec malignitas probabile quolibet ualeat ⁴ allegare.

fo 18

The turpitude of
Octavian's party

Si enim eos, quos ab unitate catholica prophana seuinxit ambitio, numerus uel opinio, uel quelibet electionis forma defenderet, aliqua fortassis erroris materia contrahi potuisset. Sed tres tantum de tota uniuersitate seducti sunt, et hi sane quos magis supportare uidebatur ecclesia, quam in aliquo de eorum industria gloriar, quia scilicet eos nec ⁵ uirtutis elegantia, nec litterarum peritia commendabat Nunquid enim is, qui inter eos etate precedebat et ordine, *Tusculanum* loquor, ⁶ horam quietis et prandi solitus obseruare, Epicurus alter reputabatur ab omnibus, omnium neglegens, nisi alicuius forte quod oblata sperati prouentus auspicatio preueniret? Quod adeo uerum est, ut, ceteris laborantibus, solus premature, sicut dicitur, ab electione discesserit, quoniam hora prandii uidebatur instare, ne audus desiderio suo fraudaretur

Imar of
Tusculum.

¹ uel, E ² uobis rei, E ³ scismatici, D² ⁴ audeat, E.

⁵ ne, A; c inserted, D²

⁶ om Tusc loqu., A; added in margin, ? gloss, D²

exactor, et inania aduersus negligentes manus inciperent uiscera murmurare Alius affe[c]tate¹ cancellarie confusus obprobrio, et aliene prelationis honore deiectus, conceptum de inuidia personale odium in ecclesiam conuertere temeraria malignitate presumpsit. Tertius uero solus inter alios periture priuilegio carnis exultans, arbitratus est nichil negandum sanguini, nichil sacris canonibus deferendum² Neque enim potest debitam eis exhibere reuerentiam quos ignorat, ideoque similem sibi brutum brutus elegit, ut in utroque | sibi inuicem de pari litterarum imperitia responderet. *fo 18^v* Sed et apostolice seueritatis eos disciplina terrebatur, ne eorum precipitem cohiberet audaciam, et uagos temerarie cupiditatis frenaret excursus Hic numerus, hec tanta peritia, hoc tam uenerabile sanctumque collegium, ecclesiam dei, immaculatam scilicet sponsam dilecti filii sui, renitentibus uniuersis, affectauit ad propriam pertrahere uoluptatem,³ et a dextris regis ad detestabiles Sathane transferre complexus

Visa tamen totius fere uniuersitatis concordia desperati, ad unitatem statim³ redituri fuerant uel inuiti Sed stupentibus ipsis, ideoque cessantibus, scismatici maioris diutius effrenata non tulit ambitio, preparatoque furtim, sicut dicitur, pluuiam, de manibus offerentis arrepto, in humeros suos tanta festinatione coniecit, ut herentibus collo finibus pauimentum lamberet pars superior indumenti. Sic indutus, ad cathedram, nullo adhuc etiam predictorum comitante, cucurrit, nomen ipse sibi Victoris acclamans, et ad suffragandum sibi et decantandas laudes preparatos impudenter exortans Mirum spectaculum¹ nec manifesto carens future ueritatis auspicio, scilicet quod hic ei in ruinam quandoque uertetur⁴ ascensus, sicut ipsa presumpte clamidis inuersa conuersio presignabat. Interea, reseratis ecclesie foribus,⁵ infame illud maledictorum genus irrupit, hoc enim cognationis illius uetus agnomen est, de qua ad effundendam benedictionem in omnes gentes pontifex dicebatur assumi Qualiter autem de stirpe maledictionis possit⁶ benedictio propagari facile non apparet, presertim per istum, in quo uetuste maledictionis⁶ obprobrium merita contracte nouiter execra-

Description of the disputed election Cf p 39 The actions of Octavian's party

¹ affectare, E ² trahere uoluntatem, E ³ stat ad un, E.

⁴ over uerteretur, A, er expunged, D² ⁵ for ecc, E

(⁶ om possit maledictionis, B, B¹, B², B³, B⁴)

¹ Alius is John of Mercone, who had been archdeacon of Tyre, tertius, who was of good birth, is Guy of Crema, who, like Octavian, claimed to be a relative of King Stephen (see reference, p 43, n a).

fo. 19

tionis attollunt Discurrentibus igitur armatis, cepit per ecclesiam quasi quedam theatralis scena disponi, dum parietes fulgor illustraret armorum, et lasciuia¹ quasi triumphantium acclamatio resultaret. Horum manibus denique pluuiam | composito, ad palatium usque perductus est, comitantibus his paucisque sacerdotibus, quorum infamis questus est simplicitatem peregrinorum eludere,² et assiduus altare beati Petri sacrilegus infestare Porro hec initia eius non sunt meliore gauisa processu, si quis uel emendicate execrationis ordinem uel redemptam laice gratiam potestatis exquirat. Nonne enim sacrilegi facinus de maiori cumulum iniquitate contraxit, cum symoniacam constet intercessisse per omnia prauitatem, sicut refusa senatui populoque Romano pecunia publicisque palam edificis impensa conuincit³ Sed et hoc immanius est, quod redemptam sanguine Christi prostituit libertatem, quatinus ecclesia, que⁴ iure suo cunctis semper est dominata principibus, officialis sui manciparetur obsequio, quo et incomparabilis priuilegium maiestatis amitteret, et ad miserabilem statum conditionis nouissime deueniret. Et nos quidem non potuimus hec oculis presentibus intueri, sed ueritas ad nos, per eos qui uiderunt, fidei relatione peruenit. Quod autem publice gestum est multorum nobis testimonio potuit confirmari, presertim cum testes precepte dignitatis honore prefulgeant, et simplex absolutam reddat concordia ueritatem.

The actions of
the Alexandrine
party.

Hac igitur parte de qualitate negotii et personarum meritis estimata, iocundum michi est ad partem alteram oculos animumque conuertere, et opus eorum, qui elegerunt, per singulas partes toto mentis gaudio contemplari, eique referre gratias, qui sancto collegio uestro⁴ prudentiam contulit et uirtutem, qua et⁵ serpentis declinare maliciam et grassantis superbie ualuitis⁶ repellere prauitatem. Sed neque nomen partis tantilla eorum meretur exceptio, nec uniuersitatem nostram partis decet appellatione censi, quia perditorum segregatio numerum non minuit electorum, nec detrimentum sentit area domini, si, grans manentibus, palee uentilabro purgante discedunt. Igitur omnia recensenti manifestum, quod sanctitatis zelus cons[e]crauit | initia, processum iuncta prudentie fortitudo direxit, patientia debito consummabit effectum, pacem, deo uolente, perseuerantie fides inconcussa presabit Nichil hic carnale,

fo. 19^a.

¹ lascisua, s inserted, D², laciua, A

² illudere, A, altered, D² ³ qua, E ⁴ eorum, A, over erasure, D².

⁵ qui et, A, a over 1 expunged, D², qui and om et, E.

⁶ ualuerunt, A; over ualuerunt, D²

nichil terrenum, nichil uestri ¹ ad priuatam utilitatem oculi respexerunt, sed ad commune bonum et honorem ecclesie totis uos ² constat anhelasse desideris, totis uiribus insudasse. Predicabitur itaque nomen uestrum, ³ et a mari usque ad mare excellentie uestre ⁴ gloria personabit, formamque dabit posteris et exemplum, ne a iusticia et ueritate persecutionis cuiuslibet errore discedant ⁵ Ad hec *spiritus* quoque *testimonium* peribet *spiritui nostro*, quia nobiscum scismaticum illum publica omnium conscientia respuit et condempnat, et electum nobis antistitem sincere caritatis et reuerentie brachus amplexatur Opera siquidem illius manifesta sunt, opera scilicet maledictionis et scandalı, opus autem istius in benedictione est, et fauor eius in gentes cotidie conualescit ⁶ Corda enim omnium nobiscum sunt, eorum etiam, quorum lingue nobis qualibet seculari necessitate reclamant, adeo ut, si nondum de corporibus, de cordibus tamen omnium uerum sit ecclesiam triumphasse Nonne enim ⁷ in eos, qui ab hac fidei unitate dissentiunt, ultio diuina manifeste procedit, et uoluntas eius, euidenti bus indicis declarata, patescit? Nonne ⁸ princeps ille, cui similem a multo tempore Roma non habuit, cuius dominus apprehendisse dexteram dicebatur, cuius fere usque ad remota orientis terror excesserat, a die susceptionis Octauiani diuino cepit iudicio reprobari, adeo ut hi, quos ante securos menia non reddebant, congregati cominus ausi sint, et ei de prosperitate successuum insultare? Reuera *digitus dei est hic, dextere excelsi* repentina *mutatio* parcentis adhuc et in ira corripere diferentis ⁹ Vtinam saperet et intelligeret et nouissima prouideret, quia tot detrimenta presentium quedam sunt indicia futurorum ¹⁰

Rom viii, 16.

The Emperor Frederick I receives divine vengeance through the Milanese

Exod viii, 19.

Ps lxxvi, 11

Deut xxxiii, 29.

Omnibus igitur ab initio rite perspectis, | domini et patres mei, ¹¹ magna uos ¹² conuenit exultatione gaudere, quod de omni carne singulariter estis ¹³ ad hoc tempus electi, per quos fidei ueritas, per quos forma iusticie, per quos ecclesie libertas inconuulsa seruetur Quod enim nos in hac uobiscum ¹⁴ unitate consistimus, quod hereticam prauitatem cum suo detestamur ¹⁵ auctore, uobis ¹⁶ debetur gratia, qui cepistis, ¹⁷ a quibus nos auctoritatem duximus et exemplum. Ipsi itaque duces nostri, ipsi reuera de fortissimis Israhel estis, ¹⁸

fo 20.

Praise of the Alexandrine cardinals

¹ eorum, A, over erasure, D² ² eos, A, u over e expunged, D²³ eorum, A, over erasure, D² ⁴ ipsorum, A, ibid, D²⁵ descendant, E ⁶ om, A, inserted, D² ⁷ add enim, A, expunged, D²⁸ eos, A, over erasure, D² ⁹ sunt, A, ibid, D²¹⁰ cum eis, A; ibid, D² ¹¹ detestantur, A, ibid, D²¹² eis, A, ibid, D² ¹³ ceperunt, A, ibid, D² ¹⁴ om, A, inserted, D².

Cant III, 7

Matt v, 15

Ps VIII, 5

Matt XII, 42

Rom VIII, 38.

Praise and
justification of
Alexander's
legates in France
William, c -p. of
St Peter ad
Vincula,
Henry, c -p of
St Ner. and St.
Ach, and Otto,
c -d. of St
Nicholas in
carcere T

fo. 20^v.

quibus lectulus Salomonis datus est, propter timores nocturnos fidelibus ¹ excubis ambiendus Ad uos, ² uelut ad lucernam super candelabrum positam, orientalis pariter et occidentalis concurrunt ecclesia, sed et ad insulas, que procul sunt, sonus ueritatis exiuit, a quibus, tanquam a finibus terre, plerique iam per discrimina multa uenerunt *audire sapientiam Salomonis*. Licet enim nos plurima locorum spacia disiungant, caritas semper indiuisa coniungit, quos unus spiritus, una fides, una confessio dirigit ad salutem In hac decreuimus uobiscum ³ constantia permanere, in hac uobiscum ³ uiuendum est, in hac, cum uoluntas diuina decreuerit, moriendum, *quia neque mors, neque uita, neque* aliquid unquam ab huius nos sententie professione seiunget.

Interim, si domino nostro et uobis ⁴ nostram non possumus presentiam exhibere, aliqua tamen ex parte supplet deuotio caritatis absentiam, quoniam uenerabilibus patribus nostris, sedis apostolice legatis, assistimus, cum eis toto studio sancte Romane ecclesie utilitatibus insistentes In quibus tanta refulget apostolice sanctitatis et doctrine perfectio, ut eis plus gratie merita contrahant quam terroris reuerentia discipline. Uiri sunt quorum sanctitatem miratur populus, sapientiam clerus usquequaque collaudat, ad uirtutem seueritatis principes expauescunt, ad summam tanta omne opus suum mansuetudine temperant, ut neque seueritas discipline pereat, et in omni parte sancte Romane ecclesie gratia conualescat Porro | super facto illo, in quo regem Francorum aduersus eos scandalizatum audistis, prorsus excusabiles sine omni dubitatione credatis, quia nunquam ad consensum dispensationis illius pertrahi potuissent, nisi eos inexpugnabilis neccessitas, et inestimabile bonum recompensationis ilico prouenture traxisset.

Conuenerant siquidem ex mandato regum uenerabiles de regno utriusque persone, ut de Roman pontificis susceptione tractarent, de quo nichil adhuc publice fuerat constitutum ^a Stabant itaque

¹ fidebus, A, h inserted, D²² eos, A, over erasure, D².³ cum eis, A, over erasure, D²⁴ ipsis, A, ibid, D²

^a Ohnsorge, *op cit*, pp 24-38, believes this to be a description of the council of Toulouse in October 1160, which he has resurrected (notes 51 and 67). See also A. Amelli, *La chiesa di Roma e la chiesa di Milano nella elezione di papa Alessandro III* (Firenze, 1910), and Ohnsorge, 'Eine ebracher Briefsammlung des XII Jahrhunderts', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, (1928-9), xx, 4, *seqq*

fratres illi, causam ecclesie non sine magno discrimine prosequentes, quoniam apud plerosque fauor iniquitatis conualuerat, adeo ut qui manifeste repudium ueritatis suggere non audebant, differendum potius seculari quadam astutia predicarent, euentum scilicet rei dubie potius expectandum, quam subiciendam fortuitis casibus tantorum principum maiestatem non oportere eos temeritate nimie festinationis inuolui, quos securius illesos sola poterat expectatio conseruare: Romanam ecclesiam semper onerosam extitisse principibus iugum aliquando data occasione ponendum, donec cupiditatis penas ambitio detestanda luisset soluendum morte alterutrius questionis incertum, atque interim posse religionem episcoporum per singula regna sufficere, donec diuina uoluntas signis euidentioribus ¹ appareret Accedebat legatorum imperatoris et cardinalium, maledicti scilicet Iohannis et Guidonis, ² instantia, quibus dari uidebatur de modica dilatione triumphus, si fratres uestros ³ uel ad modicum tempus quelibet occasio suspendisset Preterea cum animos regum in fauorem domini nostri omnium conscientia crederet inclinatos, in partem imperatoris cecidisse, dilatione prestita, crederentur, et paulominus detrimenti suspicio quam noticia forte ueritatis afferret

Policies of delay.

John of Mercone
and Guy of
Crema

Sed et rex Francorum rei diffinitionem regis Anglorum uoluntati commiserat, nichil se facturum publice contestatus, nisi quod ipsius ei sententia predictasset Preualuerat itaque consilium dilationis, ut quanto spatiosius, tanto utilius utrique regi posset esse consultum, atque interim aliqua possent de ipsis euentibus auspicari Quia igitur de arbitrio regis Anglorum tota causa pendeat, exaudiendus erat potius quam seueritatis alicuius austeritate terrendus, de cuius simplici fauore in momento Francorum, Anglorum, Hispaniensium, Hybernensium, et nouissime etiam Norguegie ⁴ regna cepistis ⁵ Sed et unde quis orituram super eo presumpsisset offensam, quod ab initio pro bono pacis, scripto etiam interueniente, regum sanctitas, religio presulum, principum fides, populi congratulatio deuota firmavit, nec rei efficientiam communibus regulis, sed, quo magis accelerari posset, ecclesiastice potius indulgentie destinauit ⁶

King Louis had
given King
Henry the
authority to
decide between
the rival popes.
fo. 21.

The countries
which waited on
his word

The marriage of
the royal
children

Quod si quid ⁶ de indulgentia contra easdem regulas constat esse

¹ euidentibus, E

² The names are expanded in the margin, probably by the same hand which added Tusculanum loquor (see above, p. 44, n. 6)

³ illos, A; over erasure, D²

⁴ Norgeng', A, amended from, D²

⁵ ceperunt, A; over erasure, D²

⁶ om, A, inserted, D²

Defence of the
conduct of the
legates

delictum, nichil tamen criminis intercessit, uulnusque modicum totius corporis ¹ sanitas asseruata compensat Hic certe zelus eorum, hec fuit dispensationis intentio, quam non ultronea uoluntas obtulit, sed importunitas necessitatis extorsit, quoniam, si ea die sermo non fuisset consummatus in bonum, procul dubio fratres uestri ² repulsam diutinam uel perhennem sub dilationis imagine reportassent.

30. To Henry of Pisa, cardinal-priest of St. Nereus and St. Achilles.^a

D², E, A

[1160-1161]

fo 2^v

Describes his
illness and his
adventures
with doctors

xv^a. Ad Henricum Pisanum, legatum Romane ecclesie ³

fo 3.

The harshness
of doctors.

Post discessum uestrum importunum terciarie quater ⁴ passus accessum, tandem ad medicine remedium salutare confugi, quod tamen paulo minus michi molestum extitit, quam caloris intemperantia que precessit Habent enim medicine remedia nescio quid abhominande malignitatis ⁵ admixtum, et, ne gratis conferant, omne beneficium semper adiuncto maleficio recompensant, ut, etiam cum profuerint, indignius ulciscantur Conualui ⁶ tamen, et per gratiam dei et merita uestra iocunda michi spes optate sanitatis aridet, portumque salutis nostra creditur anchora continere Alique tamen adhuc preterite passionis inhesere reliquie, macies et egritudinis cognata debilitas, delicatus appetitus, cuius fastidio nulla copia, nulla satisfacere potest industria ministrorum Ad reciduiam medicus paratam dicit esse materiam, ideoque studium subtilioris obseruantie scrupulosus imponit, ruptisque labus et lingua palpitante, tanta potum tribuit parcitate, ut sitim potius irritare quam compescere uelle credatur ⁷ Illud enim hominum genus, quadam semper austeritate notabile, arti sue reuerentiam sola seueritatis exhibitione conquirat, et, quasi de benignitate ulesceret, infamat omnia quecumque miser patientis appetitus exposcit. Utinam quod ad uictualia pertinet, idem nobis usus et abstinentia preberetur, ut suspicionem communicatio tolleretur, et fidem pietas

¹ operis, D² ² illi, A, *over erasure*, D²

³ om Rom ecc., E, Ad Henr' Pisan' cardinalem, A

⁴ quarter, A, *r expunged*, D²

⁵ maligni[n]itatis, D²

⁶ conualesco, A, *signs of erasure*, D²

⁷ uideatur uel credatur, E

^a See above, p xl

compassionis augetur Ad hec defectum imperitiae sue culpe semper egrotantis ascribunt, ut eger et inedia pereat et calumnie contumelia crucietur Denique ad mercedis a[u]gmentum sententiosis sermonibus incedentes, gratiam sibi misericordiae diuinae praeipiunt, ut quod miseratio diuina contulerit, de eorum uideatur diligentia prouenisse Hec ad presens apud celsitudinem uestram incommoda nos excusent, quia, si personam corporalis impotentia detinet, maiestati tamen uestre deuotio caritatis occurrit

Causas quoque nostrorum, quae interim in uestro sunt auditorio uentilande, commendamus attentius, ut in eis apud uos et amici diligentiam et iudicis inueniant equitatem.^a

Recommends his suits

Domino quoque regi supplices pro nobis gratias exhibete, quod infirmitati nostre tanta liberalitate compassus est, et es alienum, quod tam ipsius quam alia qualibet occasione contraxeram, si secus accideret, regali suscepit munificentia persoluendum^b Fidem quoque deuotionis nostre et sedulitatem laudauit obsequi, eaque sibi sepius extitisse fru[c]tuosa cognouit Dulcius et efficacius inter omnia medicamen accepi, gratiam domini mei in oportunitate copiosius^{fo 3^o} affluentem, cuius alacritas omnem protinus iniuriam passionis exclusit Felicem me, inquam, si unquam inueniar accepisse non ingrate quod tanta tamque facili michi bonitate collatum est, si utilitatibus eius et glorie datum michi fuerit totis facultatibus, toto studio, totis semper uiribus inseruire Licet autem maiestas beneficii modulum nostre paruitatis excedat, dignissimus profecto dicendus est quisquis totum quod potest ad gratiarum congruit actionem.

Asks him to thank the king for a financial settlement

31. ? To Peter de Laumont, bishop of Angoulême.^c

[? c 1160.] D²; E, A

xxxix Ad episcopum Engolism[en]sem¹

fo 32

Lator presentium filium minorem eunti ad scholas auunculo com-

¹ Engolismsem, D², A, Engolismum, E

^a Arnulf's quarrels with his canons, the church of Séz (see above, p xxxv) and with the convent of St Evroult (*ibid*, p xxxvii) were agitating him at this time

^b These debts were probably contracted during Arnulf's royal justiciarship See above, pp xxix, seq

^c 1159-78 (Gams, *Series episcoporum*), 1159-82 (Chevalier, *Repertoire*). This letter was written at the beginning of an episcopate, and the date given is not in discordance with manuscript evidence

Reprobation of a clerk who has pledged his young nephew at the schools

fo. 32^v

mendauit, ratus quod ipsum ad propensio-rem pueri curam propinqui gratia sanguinis inclinaret. Ille uero his, que ad exhibitionem pueri comparata fuerant, profusius erogatis, puerum ipsum cuidam clerico nomine pignoris obligauit, licet contractus eiusmodi nec de iure teneret, nec bonis etiam moribus conueniret. Libera siquidem persona sine proprio consensu non potuit obligari, puerumque id etatis consentire non posse uestra peritia non ignorat. Ceterum non tantum sortis sed etiam usurarum nomine retinetur, factumque tam enorme non a seculari persona, sed a clerico quodam, ipsoque domestico uestro, uel domestici filio, fieri predicatur.¹ Mirantur qui audiunt hec a uobis inter ipsa sancti episcopatus uestri primordia sustineri, que nec iusticie rigor incorrupta relinquere, nec impunita debuit seueritas ecclesiastica preterire. Clericus etenim uester manifeste de plagio confitetur, sed et usuras, quas detestatur ecclesia, nichilominus impudenter exposcit. Quod si usuras, quoniam odiose sunt, in sumptum exhibitionis impense puero malignitas astuta conuertit, respondemus ubi principalis obligatio sublata est, puerum de accessorius non teneri, sed ei² iniuriarum competere potius actionem, quod ingenuum puerum, liberalibus artibus applicandum, subductum patri, propositis non permiserit officis applicari. Denique ego ouem meam a uobis, tanquam a iudice, aduersus confitem-tem de criminibus instanter exposco, uobisque prouidendum est, ut circa hoc uobis sinceritas fame, nobis caritas fraternitatis, puero debite pietatis conseruetur affectus, quoniam si reum per culpam uestram, quod absit, contingat elabi, nos a reo fortassis in iudicem actione subsidiaria conuertemur. Quod si non ulciscendum delictum hoc, sed inter eos mansuetudo uestra potius decreuerit componen-dum,³ patri iurato, quoniam uir bone opinionis est, fides indubitata poterit adhiberi.

32. To Arnold 'Qui-non-Ridet', archdeacon of Poitiers.^a

D², E, A

[P c 1160.]

fo. 30.

Disquisition on service

xxxv(ij)^a. Ad Ernaldum, Pictauiensem archidiaconum.

Quod aliquid a uobis⁴ censeo postulandum, cum⁵ petitionis

¹ comprobatur uel predicatur, E

² ei followed by erasure, A, eum, in over 1 expunged, D², in eum, E

³ opponendum uel componendum, E

⁴ uobis aliquid, E. ⁵ tum, A, E, altered, D².

^a This is the accuser of his bishop, Gilbert de la Porrée, whose philosophical opinions were objected to in 1147 (Otto of Freising, *Gesta Frederici Primi*,

honestas, tum uestre benignitatis intuitus, non precedentium facit confidentia meritorum. Verum si operis exhibitio non precessit, paulo minus tamen sibi uidetur meruisse deuotio, que ad omnia, si occasio processisset, promptam se semper extitisse cognoscit. In Cf pp 13 and omnibus enim non tam requirenda sunt opera quam affectus, nec ¹⁴¹ adeo quid feceris relquirendum est, quantum qua feceris uoluntate fo 30v. Sic est intentio operi nomen imponit, trahitque factum ipsum potius de animi qualitate substantiam quam de beneficii quantitate.

Inde est quod pro magistro Meschino, amico et antiquo sodali nostro, preces uestre porrogo sanctitati, ut, ueteri, si quis est, animi rancore deposito, exoratum uos merear inuenire ¹ super petitione illa, super qua litteris etiam ² apostolicis instructus Pictauiensi ecclesie supplicabit. Promisit michi, quoniam ex hoc nunc uestro se totum tanquam magistri et patris mancipabit obsequio, ut, si quid de preterito negligentius uel inconsultius actum est, futuri temporis officia recompensent.

On behalf of his
old friend,
Meschinus.

33. To Pope Alexander III.^a

[C 1161] D², E, A

xxvi^a. Ad dominum papam Alexandrum

fo 21.

Grata michi refulget occasio, multis expectata temporibus, multis artibus exquisita, uidendi scilicet faciem domini mei, et matrem meam, sanctam Romanam ecclesiam, uisitandi. Iocundum est me quibuslibet offerre periculis, quibuslibet inferre laboribus, ut merear aliquando frui desiderato uestre serenitatis aspectu, et iocundo sacri sermonis alloquio recreari. Iturus alia uice fueram destinandus a principe, sed importuna me bellorum emergentium retraxit inuidia,^b

On visiting the
pope

¹ inuenisse, A, 1 over ss expunged, D²

² om, E

ed G Waitz (Script Rer. Germ., 1912), pp 67, seqq; Letter of Geoffrey d'Auxerre, *HF*, xiv, 327, John of Salisbury, *Historia pontificalis* (ed R L. Poole), p 17)

^a See above, p xxxv and p lvi.

^b There was war in Toulouse in the summer of 1159, and war in the Beauvoisis in October. A truce was made in November between Kings Henry and Louis which became a peace in May 1160. Arnulf was a witness to the peace (Eyton)

fo. 21^r.

quibus transigendis, studium diligentie mee cum ¹ neccessitas ecclesie, ^a tum republice requirebat utilitas Quod siquidem iter desiderio magis ² quam imperio mandantis assumpseram, ut impetrata potius quam iniuncta legatio uideretur. Nunc autem, compositis omnibus, non missus, sed sola deuotione ductus, aduenio ad exhibendum beneplacito domini mei corpus et spiritum, ad impendendas utilitatibus uestris omnes, tanquam ex debito, peculii facultates Attamen ut ueniam, oportuit me causas quasi neccessitatis inquirere, quia nequaquam michi patuisset egressus, nisi aliqua crederer importunitate compelli Cum enim principi nostra semper sit officiosa presentia, ³ non tam me deuotioni mee morem gerere, quam ad publicas utilitates et sua uellet obsequia retinere Cum autem uenero, faci[l]e comparebit quid asscribi deuotioni, quid neccessitati debeat imputari. Uenio igitur non ex animo quidem ⁴, sed tamen ⁵ uerbo tenus, impetrata licentia, sed nolui ⁶ michi de silentio ipsius facere questionem, quoniam, etsi non facies oculis, uotis tamen oratio respondebat, nec abicienda uidebatur occasio, que tanto desiderio querebatur. Venio, inquam, non insidias hostium, non itineris difficultates, non aeris intemperiem, non iniurias maris attendens, ea certe fiducia quoniam merita uestra precedent faciem meam, et, deo uolente, de omnibus locis obstantia quelibet amoueunt

The case at issue the hostility of his nephew Silvester, treasurer of Lisieux, and of John, nephew of Froger of Séz

Interim indicandum uobis censui composite neccessitatis astuciam, que me a regis occupationibus reddidit ⁷ absolutum Reportauerunt Silvester, tesaurarius ecclesie mee, et Iohannes, nepos Sagiensis episcopi, ^b ad Cenomanensem ^c et Abrincensem ^d episcopos litteras a sede uestra super quibusdam causis aduersus me absque omni appellationis remedio terminandis Quarum cognitioni dominum Willelmum Papiensem, sancte Romane ecclesie cardinalem, ^e contigit

¹ tum, *A*, altered to tum, *E* ² mag desid, *E*

³ presenta, *A*, 1 inserted, *D*² ⁴ om, *E*

⁵ tantum, *A* ⁶ noluique, *A*, sed inserted, que expunged, *D*²

⁷ reddit, *A*, di inserted, *D*²

^a The schism. See above, p xl

^b Froger, formerly almoner of the king (Torgny, p 205 and n 3), and a one-time domesticus of Arnulf's (see next letter)

^c William de Passavant ^d Achard

^e Cardinal-priest of St Peter ad uincula He arrived in Normandy about the end of 1159, and left probably in the autumn of 1161 (W Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III*, pp 37-43)

interesse, ipsoque presente, predictus thesaurarius omnes querimonias, quas habebat, refutauit in manibus iudicum, et quod eas aduersum me deinceps non moueret, fide corporaliter interueniente, firmauit ^a Ego autem ei eorum intercessione gratiam | reddidi, et, licet ingratus *fo* 22. manifestusque calumpniator in omnibus appareret, delictum omne ea, que plerumque inter neccessitudine iunctos uertitur, facilitate remisi Verum Iohannes, cum, hinc inde rationibus diligenter auditis, contrariam sententiam reportasset, ad solatium confusionis sue, magis quam ad cause remedium, sedem apostolicam ad kalendas Februarii appellauit, licet de medio omnem appellandi licenciam eo, quod ipse a uobis reportauerat, oraculo sustulisset. Cum itaque rebus iudicatis standum sit, presertim ubi nulla possunt appellatione suspendi, certum est quia ad refractionem rei iudicate nulla me neccessitatis trahit instantia, sed optatam duxi de appellatione materiam, ne uestram scilicet uiderer reuerentiam neglexisse, si, prouocatus ad uestram presentiam, non uenissem ¹ Ceterum quia tot pericula fallere temeraria festinatione non possum, oportebit me fortassis ad complanandos transitus, et preparationem securitatis spatiosum tempus impendere Ideoque, si Iohannes ille preuenierit, bonum uobis erit et utile ut ipsum usque ad nostrum detineatis aduentum, quia auunculum eius et ipsum in personam uestram et statum totius ² ecclesie grauissime deliquisse manifesta uobis ueritate constabit.

34. To Pope Alexander III.^b[Early 1161] *D*²; *E*, *A*.xxviii^a Ad eundem.*fo* 22.

Est quiddam in quo maiestatis apud uos reus inueniar, nisi uestram fidelibus indicis premunero sanctitatem Habuit ecclesia *Sagiensis* episcopum, cui me fraterni sanguinis neccessitudo coniunxit, sed artius gratia beneficentie liberalis astrinxit. Hic,

In praise of his brother, John, bishop of Séez, 1124-44.

¹ *om* si . uenissem, *E* ² *om*, *E*

^a The quarrel between Arnulf and Silvester was concerned with the woods of Livet and Millouel (in the parish of St Désir, Lisieux). The report to the pope of the judges-delegate, William de Passavant and Achard, announcing Silvester's submission, is printed by R. N. Sauvage, 'Fragments d'un cartulaire de Saint-Pierre de Lisieux,' *Études Lexoviennes* (1928), III, 341-2.

^b See above, p xxxv, and the previous letter

His benefactions
and reforms

fo 22^v

Ps xciv, 5
Cf pp 63, 112
and 181

Papal patrons of
the church
and King
Henry I

The introduction
of canons-regular
from St Victor,
Paris

The fame of the
church, and its
communal
regulations.

cum predictam ecclesiam suscepisset, magnam temporalibus curam, maiorem spiritualibus homo sanctus impendit. Ipsam igitur thesauris ornatam, instructam edificiis, possessionibus reddidit ampliatam, adeo quod pro xij. canonicis, quos seculares appellant, ipsisque pauperibus, moriens ibidem xxxvj canonicos regulares cum omni edificiorum sufficientia et ¹ reddituum copia dereliquit.^a Cumque eam in temporalibus nobilem redd[er]isset ², in spiritualibus semper nobiliorem studuit exhibere uir magnificus et omni sanctitate laudabilis, cui nec sanctitas magnificentiam tolleretur, nec magnificentia sanctitatem. Quod bonum a predecessores uestris, uiris apostolicis, Honorio primum, po[s]tmodum Innocentio, denique Eugenio et Adriano ceptum est et firmatum, precedente siquidem gloriosissimi Anglorum regis Henrici deuotione, qui [magna] ³ ob eandem causam ecclesie bona contulit, et precepti regalis ualuturo in perpetuum munimine roborauit.^b Cumque res hec a predicto uiro religiosissimo Honorio traxisset initium, ab irreparabili uiro Innocentio meruit incrementum, cuius auctoritate predictus episcopus electas ab ecclesia sancti Victoris Parisiensis personas accepit, quarum sanctitas et prudentia suis meritis tante rei posset initia consecrare Quorum studius tantum inter uarias tribulationes sanctum opus excreuit, ut inter omnes ⁴ Gallicanas ecclesias illa cepit de nob[il]ioribus illius ordinis estimari, si quis circa eos hospitalitatis gratiam uel ordinis uellet attendere disciplinam. Porro ne qua posset oriri secularitatis in posterum reuocande suspicio, et, quia potior fructus poterat de regularium administratione sperari, statutum est, et Romane ecclesie nichilominus auctoritate firmatum, quod in regulares personas sicut prebende ita et archidi[ac]onatus ⁵ et omnium rerum tam potestas quam administratio conferretur; ita nimirum ut omnes obuentiones deberent in commune referri, ne cupiditati daretur occasio, si eas liceret priuatis usibus applicare.^c

¹ om., E. ² reddisset, D², A ³ qui inserted and om magna, D²

⁴ om., E. ⁵ archidionatus, A, D²

^a Instrument of John in *GC*, xi, instr col 160. He built a cloister and other offices for the canons (Tongni, p 149)

^b See above, pp. xiv and xviii

^c 'Decernimus quoque atque constituimus, ut archidiaconi Sagiensis ecclesiae, de vestris fratribus, vel vestro capitulo, vestroque consilio ab episcopo eligantur, et beneficia, et redditus, et quidquid eis de archidiaconatibus provenient, in vestros regulares usus atque communes redigantur', Instrument of John, loc. cit.

Quod adeo uerum est ut, defuncto sepedicto episcopo, eum, qui successit, episcopari ecclesia Romana nulla ratione permiserit, donec eundem ordinem in propria persona professus est, et quod ipsum in ecclesia fide bona ¹ seruaret, iuramento corporaliter interueniente, firmavit. Tantus siquidem fauor religionis extitit apud eam, ne statue auree, quod absit, | caput eneum ipsius opificio ² diceretur *fo 23* affixum

John's successor,
Bishop Gerard,
1144-57

Verum episcopus iste, qui ad presens, domino permittente, successit, detestabilem concepisse predicatur affectum, scilicet plantationem hanc penitus euellendi, destruendique bonum, quod fidelium deuotio, quod auctoritas principum, quod sanctorum religio, quod ecclesie Romane priuilegia duraturo in perpetuum anathemate firmauerunt. Quod si totum a discretione uestra non poterit impetrare, archidiaconatus saltem ad seculares studebit reuocare personas, scilicet ut habeat carnalis affectio quod nepotibus tribuat et propinquis. Sed hunc ipsum pietatis specie palliabit affectum, dicturus ecclesiam illam idoneas non habere personas que talibus sufficere probentur officus, tanquam, si sancte simplicitati preualere debeat secularis astutia, aut de ecclesia sancti Victoris, aut sancti Rufi,^a uel alius similibus persone non possint auctoritate uestra ad hec officia dispensanda transferri

Bishop Froger
(1159-84) is trying to uproot
John's reforms

Et ego quidem ecclesie illius archidiaconus extiti, ipsiusque beneficis educatus sum, ipsius institutionibus eruditus, iustumque est ipsius me semper detrimentis occurrere et utilitatibus debita diligentia provide. Sed et bonum, quod tanto domini et fratris mei labore contractum est, humeris meis sustinendum memoria fraterne caritatis imponit, propter quod inter me et episcopum loci illius, cum domesticus noster extiterit, multisque a me beneficis sit preuentus, nouiter est oborta ³ discordia, quia fratrum illorum iniurias sustinere non poteram, eique ad ordinis subuersionem opem et consilium non prestabam.

Arnulf's connections with and personal interest in the church, and his disapproval of Froger's actions

Vnde illum et eos, qui cum ipso sunt, tanquam aduersarios nostros et manifestos hostes sapienter accipite, quoniam ultrices lingue neque fidem neque facilem promerentur auditum. Quod si forte preces aliquae super hac causa uobis porrecte sunt, secure tanquam subrepticias estimate, neque necesse est ecclesiam aliquod propter eas pati dispendium, | quoniam ad conseruandam uobis fidem et *fo 23**

Entreats the pope to repulse him and his schemes.

¹ bona fide, E

² officio, opificio in margin, E

³ orta, E

^a Austin abbey near Valence, Drôme Pope Adrian IV had been one of its canons

Gen xviii, 27.

gratiam eius, a quo misse sunt, satis erit absque omni offensa si in propriis postulationibus fuerit exauditus Ad summam¹ loquar ad dominum meum cum sim pulvis et cinis Iocundum sit ei eloquium meum, ut pie postulatio uoluntatis optati gratiam consequatur effectus. Domine, personam uestram publica commendat opinio, animosque et aures omnium operum uestrorum expectatio curiosa suspendit, dum malignandi materiam uenatur iniquitas, et gloriam nomini uestro deuotio fidelis inquit Absit igitur a uobis ut predecessorum uestrorum sancta plantatio uestris conuellatur manibus, uestris uiribus extirpetur¹ Absit ut per uos tot Romanorum pontificum anathemata² ducantur in irritum¹ Absit ut per eos remota secularitas auctoritatis uestre sententia reuocetur!

35. To Pope Alexander III.^aD²; E, A

[? 1161]

fo 23^o.xxix^a. ³Ad eumdem.

Amazed at the
pope's deception
by Froger of
Séez

Si ad uestrum littere peruenere conspectum, quibus ego maiestatem uestram studui premunire super zelo quem ad remouendam de ecclesia sua religionem Sagiensis intendit episcopus, miror admodum, multique mirati sunt, quomodo⁴ factum huiusmodi scriptumque publicum super eo facto uestre potuit subripi sanctitati.

In praise of his
brother, John,
bishop of Séez.

Quid enim? Episcopalem ecclesiam, miserabili paupertate dampnatam, religiosus episcopus redditibus, edificiis, ornamentis et ea, ad quam plurimum intendebat, religione⁵ fundauerat, ipsamque de paupere diutem, predicabilem de obscura, de ignobili, si dici fas est, fecerat gloriosam. Quod factum tota sane partium nostrarum uenerabatur ecclesia, omnis ubique religio commendabat, si quis uel effusam in omnes caritatem uel ordinis uellet attendere disciplinam; nec ab ipso tantum hoc, sed multarum uenerabilium personarum studiis, multarum⁶ fuerat auctoritate perfectum, quoniam ad studia laborum eius prospera semper optati prouentus auspicia concurrebant, adeo ut ad constitutionem ecclesie illius contendere uirtus et fortuna uiderentur. Exultabat apostolica

fo. 24.

¹ sumnam, D².² add ipsum etiam uestrum cum eis, E³ add Item, A.⁴ quo, E⁵ relig. intend., A; transposed, D².⁶ om, E^a See above, p. xxxv, and the two preceding letters

sedes, quod prima tante religionis fundamenta iecisset, quod promotionem eius continuo fouere non destitisset auxilio, quod consummationem eius priuilegis et ualituro in perpetuum anathemate communisset

Omni¹bus siquidem priuilegis eius *imperpetuum* uice salutationis inuenitur ascriptum, quo manifeste uoluntas declaratur auctoris, quod id stabile fore uoluerit, non alienis reliquerit arbitrius immutandum Res quippe transsitoria titulo perpetuitatis non meretur inscribi,¹ quoniam, que taliter inscribuntur, uel perseuerantie statum retinent uel tituli falsitatem Quod autem dicitur predecessorem successori suo legem dare non posse, uel prescise falsum est, uel omnia possunt impune sanctorum patrum instituta conuelli, quorum tamen sapientiam narrant populi, quorum laudem ecclesia nuntiat, et sepulchra eorum frequentibus miraculis gloria magnificentie celestis illustrat Priuilegia siquidem *Romanorum* pontificum, quasi quedam ipsorum testamenta credenda sunt,^a nec a morte testatoris expirant, sed potius ab ipsa contrahunt firmitatem, nec defectu persone sublata perit auctoritas eorum que religiose semel instituta noscuntur Nos tamen errores predecessorum a successoribus posse corrigi non negamus, et ipsorum etiam in melius posse bona mutari, ubi maior scilicet mutationem suadet utilitas, nullumque sentit religio detrimentum^b In preiudicium siquidem religionis nichil agendum est, cui quicquid aduersatur diuine constat esse contrarium uoluntati

Disquisition on the power of a pope to abrogate the provisions of his predecessors

Qua nimirum ratione seculares canonicos, quos appellant, pro regularibus inducendis uidimus amoueri, licet ecclesie eorum in eo statu aliqua sedis apostolice priuilegia meruissent. In quibus constat aduersus priuilegia nichil esse commissum, in quibus auctoris animus potius | contemplari conuenit, quam apices amplexari, quoniam in nullo uoluntas ipsius² offenditur, ubi uoluntatis intentio

A change for the better, as at Séz, does not run counter to earlier privileges, for by such changes they are fulfilled rather than destroyed

¹ ascribi, E

² illius, E.

^a Cf St Bernard, *De Consideratione*, (M P L, clxxxii), iii, 1, 'Eis tu [Pope Eugenius III] successisti in haereditatem Ita tu haeres et orbis haereditas At quatenus haec portio te contingit, aut contigerit illos, id sobria consideratione pensandum'

^b Cf St Bernard, *op cit*, i, 9, 'Praedecessores tui non ita consueuerunt. eris molestus quam pluribus, quasi qui a patrum uestigis subito deuiaris nempe id uideberis agere in sugillationem illorum. Nec potes eorum omnia simul et subito vel errata corrigere, vel excessus redigere in modum Erit cum acceperis tempus, ut secundum sapientiam tibi a Deo datam paulatim et opportune id studeas. Interim sane malo alterius utere in bonum quod potes'

fo 24^o

fidelius observatur Si quid autem humanius fuerit institutum, quod etiam sedis apostolice scripta confirment, eo nec perfectionis proeuctus excluditur, nec deuotioni terminus assignatur Semper enim in anteriora libere debent studia sanctitatis extendi, sicque oportet interpretari que scripta sunt, ne nostris uideantur processibus inuidere, quia tunc recte suus minori bono fauor impenditur, cum nequaquam boni maioris incrementa tolluntur Ecclesia enim eos, qui ad superiora desiderio perfectionis aspirant, non permittit occasionibus impediri, quin libero erumpant ad maiora consensu, sicque prime imperfectionis priuilegia remouet, ut, gratiam noue perfectionis amplectens, uetera nouis non tam uideatur ¹ soluere, quam implere. At uero sacras ueterum institutiones in deterius deuocare non conuenit, nec auctoritatem prebere defectus, ut inde fomenta comparentur audacie, unde timeri debuit seueritas discipline

On dispensations

Plane sunt quedam quibus, ut fiant, consensum adhibere non licet, que tamen, si facta sunt, dissimulare neccesse est, quia non possunt habere remedium, uel, si quid recompensationis habent, discreta mansuetudine dispensare Culpam tamen indulgentia preuenire non debet, ne securitas alat audatiam, et ad delinquendum fiducia remissionis inuitet Debet ergo seueritas prohibitos cohibere conceptus, ne temerario compleantur effectus; debet nichilominus excessus illicitos congrua anima[d]uersione punire, nisi reum ² uel uiolentia potestatis eripiat uel penitentia temperet disciplinam Tunc enim in potestate iudicis est mollire sententiam, et mitius iudicare quam leges, cum rerum uel personarum merita postulant, aut instantia neccessitatis extorquet In estimanda tamen neccessitate, non conuenit pussil[lan]imes inueniri, ne uirtuti subduxisse materiam uel de diuina uideamur gratia desperare. Scio quosdam dispensationum prodigos tante benignitatis existere, ut nichil reseruent legibus, affectibus omnia largiantur, nec offensam rationis attendunt, dum hominum sibi precauisse uideantur offensam Metiuntur igitur affectatos de prerogatiua potentie sue, potius quam de merito rationis effectus, et, nomine neccessitatis indulgentiam quamlibet excusantes, diuine gratie bonitatem non sustinent experiri; sed, humanum fauorem pre omnibus auspicantes, fugaces auras et inanes uentos studius fallacibus amplectuntur.

fo. 25.

God is our
only hope

Quieti scilicet ecclesie prouidere se predicant, cuius prostituunt libertatem et maiestatem redigunt in contemptum, que tamen in

¹ uideratur, D², A. ² rerum, A, r expunged, D², alitered, E

uirtute sanctorum debet apparere *terribilis, ut castrorum acies* Cant vi, 3
ordinata Solebat siquidem terribilis supremis potestatibus im-
 minere, earumque pacienter expugnare potentiam, dum, tribulationi-
 bus constanter exposita, liberationem non nisi de liberatore
 pauperum expectabat Liberat enim dominus *pauperem a potente,*
et inopem, cui non comparet adiutor, quoniam *fidelis* est, neque Ps lxxi, 12.
 uires nostras patitur uiribus temptationis excedi, *sed facit cum*
temptatione prouentum, ut possimus sustinere. Veruntamen nos 1 Cor x, 13
 gratiam istam pusillanimitate desperationis excludimus, quotiens
 desperato uirtutis effectu humanis fauoribus inclinamur, et, accele-
 rato ueritatis¹ iusticieque naufragio, salutaris experientie prepedi-
 mus euentum Oportebat magis secundum doctrinam psalmiste
 sperare *in domino, et facere bonitatem,* quoniam non derelinquit² Ps xxxvi, 3
 sperantes in se in tempore tribulationis, et in die superborum sine
 adiutorio Oportebat in mandatis eius et³ iustificationibus exerceri,
 non statim manus imbelles captiuandas offerre, quia non potest
 sequi sine concertatione uictoria, nec corona sine legitimo certamine
 prouenire Lex autem⁴ certaminis est uti uiribus, uirtutem patien-
 tie et longanimitatis amplecti, non inter initia trahi fauoribus, fo 25^v
 et, desperato diuine bonitatis auxilio, cedere, quoniam qui sperant
 in eum non confundentur; *qui autem hominibus placent confusi*
sunt, quoniam deus spreuit eos. Nonne utilius erat ipsam hominum Ps xxi, 6
 gratiam de diuina bonitate sperare, et non ei de diuinitatis offensa
 parare materiam, cum corda etiam regum in manu dei sint, et ea Prov xxi, 1
 quo⁵ uoluerit inclinabit? Ad hec experimento didicimus diuino
 quodam iudicio sepius euenire, quod hi, qui ob affectationem fauoris
 humani reuerentiam diuine maiestatis offendunt, diuine quidem
 dispendium faciunt, sed humanam, quam affectauerant, minime
 consequuntur Sicut enim disciplina cautelam, sic insolentem
 promior⁶ indulgentia creat audaciam, gratuitumque liberalitatis
 aliene beneficium suorum reputant premia meritorum, ipsumque
 quandoque beneficium putant iniuriam, quod minoris propria existi-
 matione fuerint estimati.

Quod ego uobis in hoc facto uereor accidisse, sicut sanctitati
 uestre postmodum euidentibus liquebit indicis, cum ad aures uestras
 ueridica relatione peruenerit, quanta malignitate et audacia pre-
 dictus episcopus infirmitatem status uestri publice predicauerit, et
 hostium ecclesie uictoriam rediens dixerit imminere. Extant qui

A return to the
 wickedness of
 Froger, who
 predicts the
 victory of the
 anti-pope,

¹ uirtutis, E.

² dereliquit, A

³ add in, A, expunged, D².

⁴ enim, E

⁵ que, E

⁶ promtior uel promior, E

Gen xviii, 27

fo 26
and who has
been allowed to
make a secular
archdeacon in
his church

He has removed
the prior, and
appointed a
creature

Plea for action

Ps. lxii, 12.

audierunt, per quos uobis hec et alia maligniora suo tempore plenius innotescant, ut nulla fidem ueritatis suspicio debeat impedire. *Loquar* tamen interim *ad dominum meum*, utinam complacent ei eloquia mea! *Loquar*, inquam, quia apud eum michi sermo est, apud quem non eget uel intercessore religio uel iusticia defensore. Domine, quotquot ordinis illius obseruantiam profitentur aut diligunt per omnes Gallorum ecclesias et Anglorum, audito hoc uerbo, scandalizati sunt, querentes quid antecessorum uestrorum, quid denique uestrum tam recens soluerit anathema, cum nulla uis necessitatis appareat, nec tanto uulnere remedium aliquod aliqua recompensatione uideatur afferri. Omnes redditus et omnes obuentiones archidiaconatus illius, que ad communes usus regularium fratrum fuerant assignate, sine cause cognitione sublatae sunt, atque unius persone, ipsiusque secularis,^a sumptibus attribue. Querunt igitur de iure quod suum est sine iudicio spoliati, subductoque quod pauperibus solebat erogare¹ religio, nichil se preter uacuas manus exhibere deplorant. Procedit interim inter cilicia pauperum fratrum et sordes cartularum filius, sericis adornatus et uariis, quem ipsi, inuise dissimilitudinis animal intuentes, quasi seminarium quoddam reuocande secularitatis, tacitis quod solum audent animis, execrantur et dampnant². Auget metum quod alius adhuc uacans archidiaconatus in eadem seruatur ecclesia, minori nepotulo conferendus, quam cito in legitimam etatem uidebitur excreuisse. Preterea, priore claustrum remoto, quia acrioris ingenii credebatur, et ad iniurias ecclesie non silebat ex conscientia, episcopus priorem constituit idiotam, ut ipse scilicet locum suppleat idiote, et bona eorum in usus proprios sine contradiccione conuertat. Agite ergo, et apostolicam uobis domestice seueritatis reuocate prudentiam, ut, quod sanctitati uestre subreptum est, ipsa sanctitas uestra reducat ad formam, quatinus sancte institutionis reformetur integritas, et ad uires pristinas tam uestra quam predecessorum uestrorum priuilegia conualescant. Sic enim obstruetur *os loquentium*³ *iniqua*, et in laudem et gloriam nominis uestri fideles uestri libertate solita proclamabunt, et, exempli terrore sublato, status ecclesie tranquillitate⁴ pristina conquiescet. Timeo ne audatius forte loquutus sim, quam uestre debuerim maiestati; sed me sancte

¹ erog sol, E ² condemnant *ouer erasion*, D²³ enim os obstructum loquentium, A, *erasure*, D² ⁴ tranquillitate, D².^a Apparently Froger's nephew, John. See ep no 33.

opinionis uestre zelus impulit ad loquendum, et ecclesie illius indigna contritio,¹ cui multis ex causis ab antiquo sum plurima caritate² deuinctus. Scio quia acceptior erit in auribus uestris diligentis deuota presumptio, quam fallax assentatio blandientis.

and excuses for his boldness of expression
fo 26v.

36. To Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury.^a

[Summer 1162.] Paris, B N, lat. 5320; Lambeth, 136 (Z).
fo. 15r.

Thome, Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, Arnulfus, Luxouensis episcopus

Carissimo domino suo Thome, dei gratia Cantuariensi archiepiscopo et totius Anglie primati, Arnulfus, Luxouensis ecclesie humilis minister, salutem, et debitam cum plurima deuotione reuerentiam.

Litteras beatitudinis uestre tanto maiori suscepimus hilaritate, quanto eas ex uberiori pinguedine caritatis nouimus processisse. Preter illam namque purissimam, quam erga nos habetis, affectionem, quandam uite nouitatem zelumque iusticie redolebant, adeo ut singuli apices pristine magnifice[n]tie uiteque nouitatis dulcedinem stillarent. Sic ergo statum susceptę dignitatis ab eo, qui uos elegit, temperari petimus, vt magnificentiam uestram sanctitas non adimat, nec magnificentia minuat sanctitatem, sed equis concurrant passibus, et ad diuine formę sanctificationis³ Christi sanctificent et glorificent sacerdotem. Sanctitas enim *et magnificentia in sanctificatione eius*, nec magis una quam altera, nec una quando⁴ non altera, sed sicut semper ita et pariter sempiternę deitatis illustrent et clarificant maiestatem. Repleta est igitur anima mea iocunditatis interioris *adipe et exterioris pinguedine*, dignum ad dignitatem uidens euocari, quem plurimis experti sumus indicis zelum habere et peritiam sibi subditos gubernandi, *quia profecto propheta magnus surrexit in nobis, et deus uisitauit plebem suam*. Imperabit michi, tamquam uestro, quoniam tam in persona quam facultatibus parati sumus uniuersis uestris uoluntatibus obsequi, et utilitatibus deseruire. Valete⁵

Congratulations on his accession. (Consecrated 3 June 1162)

Ps xciv, 6.
Cf pp 56, 112 and 181

Ps lxi, 6.

Luc vii, 16

Hec autem scripsi uobis in hac breuitate, non ut uestre rescriberem

¹ contritio, A; c expunged, D² ³ carit|cantate, A.
² satisfactionis, Z ⁴ quantum, Z ⁵ om., Z

^a See above, p xlii

Excuse for
brevity.

maiestati, sed ut sciatis nos et nuntium uestrum uidisse, et uestre
dignationis litteras suscepisse

37. To Richard d'Aumeri, precentor of Lincoln.^a

D²; E, A.

[? late 1163]

fo 46^v

On behalf of
the bearer.

xliij Ad Ricardum de Alm',¹ precentorem Lincolnensem

Licet pro latore presentium, A., uestre presens supplicauerim
caritati, preces tamen censui litteris prosequendas, ut quantitatem
desiderii mei tam uiue uocis alloquium, quam litterarum instantia
declararet Sperat hic, impetratis a me litteris, a uobis impetrasse
quod postulat, quia quasi certus est preces meas apud dilectionem
uestram optato nullatenus frustrandas effectum Cumque solus cari-
tatis affectus omnem possit inter nos formasse² fidutiam, accedit

¹ Almare, A

² firmasse, A

^a The exact dates of Richard's precentorship are not known Richard Daumeri (other forms Ricardus de Ameri, de Aumeri, de Aumari, Dameri), as precentor and archdeacon of Lincoln, witnesses a charter of Henry de Oilli, royal constable (Transcripts from the cartulary of the abbey of Thame, Brit. Mus Cotton MS, Julius, C vii, fo. 287^v) Henry, according to Eyton, held the office from 1155 to 1158, and died c. 1163-5 Later, as Richard, precentor of Lincoln, Arnulf's correspondent witnesses charters in October 1162 (*The registrum antiquissimum of the cathedral church of Lincoln*, ed C. W. Foster and K. Major, Lincoln Record Soc., 1931-7, iii, 156) and in 1163-6 (*Cartulary of Oseney abbey*, ed Rev H. E. Salter, Oxford Hist. Soc., 1929-36, v, 241) Still precentor, he and Richard of Ilchester, archdeacon of Poitiers, acted as royal guardians of the see of Lincoln and accounted for its revenues during its vacancy, 1167-73 (Pipe Rolls, 14 Henry II-19 Henry II, *The great roll of the pipe for the 13th year of the reign of King Henry the second*, A.D. 1166-67, The Pipe Roll Soc., 1889, pp. 40 and 57 etc.) Richard also attests a charter of Bishop Robert Chesney as a canon of Lincoln (Transcripts from the cartulary of the abbey of Thame, fo. 297^v) His predecessor, Roger de Almaria (Le Neve's Roger de Derby), appointed in 1147-8 (*The registrum antiquissimum*, i, 262-3), is noticed as precentor c. 1150 (*Transcripts of charters relating to the Gilbertine houses of Sixle, Ormsby, Calley, Bullington and Alvingham*, ed F. M. Stenton, Lincoln Record Soc., 1922, pp. 1 and 15), and in that capacity attests a charter dated 1156-62 (*ibid.*, p. 3) It appears then that Richard became precentor c. 1157

The request which is contained in this letter had previously been made in person by Arnulf to Richard, and from this we may perhaps infer that it was made in England. Arnulf was with the king at Lincoln in January 1155; but that date is probably too early. A more likely time is October 1163, when the bishop crossed to England to intercede between Henry and Becket, and when the royal court is found at Lincoln (Eyton).

tamen quod utilitatis uestre detrimenta non quero, quamuis gratia mea uestro iudicio quelibet plurimo prouentu dispendia recompenset. Facietis itaque cum hilaritate quod petitur, ut ipsa facilitate meriti quantitas augeatur, quia sepius officii liberalis exhibitio creat uel firmat amicitie ueritatem. Licet enim ipsa in sua simplicitate puritate consistat, tamen extrinseca frequenter accessione distrahitur, adeo ut iniuriis irritata deficiat, et quasi delimita beneficis conualecat. Porro ipsa ¹ beneficis odia conquiescunt, et mirabili mutatione in contrarios uertuntur affectus. Siquidem necesse est diligas quem odisti, si eum ad meliorem affectum a pristina malicia transisse cognoueris, affectumque tuum aliena sibi formidabit ² affectio, ut semper diligentem diligas, et oderis odientem. Oportet igitur ut sibi inuicem bene utriusque conscientia respondeat, ideoque ultro citroque abscondite uoluntatis argumenta procedant, quia operibus credendum esse ipsa nos euangelice doctrina ueritatis instruit. Semper diligentis animus ad alterius est quam ad sua uota propensior, et, preueniri desidiis reputans, tota semper festinat diligentia preuenire

38. To Pope Alexander III.

[c. 1163] D², E, A

xxx. Ad eundem

fo 26^v

Quotiens aliquis apud maiestatem uestram humilitatis nostre precibus expetit adiuuari, honestatis et iusticie diligentius habendam considero rationem, si personam honestas uel causam uideatur iusticia commendare. Hee etenim due uirtutes sunt, quas apud excellentiam uestram nullo patrocinio nouimus indigere, quibus ultro gratiam exhibetis, cum altera uos in preconium, altera mundo proposuerit ad exemplum.

Hoc nimirum intuitu pro P., Pictauiensi archidiacono, ^a precaturus accedo, quem ecclesie sue utilem peribent cum ³ sedulitas officii, tum beneficentia in subiectos, tum bonitas in consortes, tum denique circa ecclesiam suam nouarum amplificatio facultatum

Qualifications required to secure his support for a petition

On behalf of P archdeacon of Poitiers, who protests against the institution of

¹ add plerumque, E.² formabit, E³ tum, A; altered to tum, E, altered, D²^a A Peter archdeacon of Poitiers occurs in 1148 (G C., II, instr col 376)

a rural dean in
his archdeaconry
against his will

Iccirco si cause ipsius qualitas inquiratur, id iuris se in quodam archipresbiteratu suo contendit habere, quod tam ipsi quam omnibus aliis archidiaconis in omnibus archipresbiteratibus suis uetus ecclesie illius consuetudo confirmat. Porro superuacua uidetur questione uexari, cum sola sit de sola archipresbiteri electione contentio, cum, ab archidiacono facta, ad episcopale de consuetudine referatur arbitrium, eamque ¹ potest auctoritate sua, nisi fuerit idonea, reprobare. Ceterum, si eo inuito in archidiaconatu eius archipresbiter fuerit institutus, plurimum utilitatibus eius et honori constabit esse subtractum, cum ei in archidiaconatu suo alius quodammodo archidiaconus annascatur.

39. To Pope Alexander III.^b

D²; E, A.

[Spring 1164]

fo 27^v

xxxij^a Ad eundem

He is not to visit
the pope

The king com-
plains that the
pope is not com-
plaisant, and
harbours his
enemies.

Regressus ab Anglia, ad pedes uestre beatitudinis amplectendos debui cucurrisse,² sed expectanda fuit occasio, qua me magis traxisset neccessitas uideretur quam deuotio perduxisset. Animus siquidem principis nostri aliquantulum ab ea, qua sanctitatem uestram olim ³ complexus est, caritate descit, adeo ut inter familiares suos quandoque conquestus sit se minorem in uobis, quam sperauerat, gratiam inuenisse. Ait in oportunitatibus suis uos esse difficilem, in postulationibus scrupulosum. acceptos uobis esse, et iugiter in curia demorari, quosdam qui mendatis suis gloriam regie serenitatis offuscant: conuenire siquidem ad apostolicam sedem ex multis

fo 28.

¹ eumque, E

² cururrisse, A, altered, D²

³ om, A; inserted, D².

^b After the embassies of Arnulf and Richard of Ilchester at the end of 1163, Geoffrey Ridel and John of Oxford were sent to the pope by Henry to ask for the legateship for the archbishop of York and confirmation of the Constitutions. They obtained a grant of the legateship under unsatisfactory conditions, and Henry then sent two lesser men who were successful in the matter of the profession of the abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, and claimed that Geoffrey and John had acted foolishly at the Curia (*Mat*, v, 89). It seems that Arnulf expected to go on this legation, and, when others were sent, wrote this letter to the pope. John of Salisbury, writing at about this time, thought that Arnulf was to go and undertake the business of the abbot of St. Augustine's (*Mat*, v, 101), and the legates echo Arnulf's complaints as to the intrigues of Becket's supporters at the Curia (*ibid*, v, 89). For the chronology see Eyton; *Materials*, v, *passim*, and above, p. xlii.

partibus multos, quorum aures illi praeue ueneno malignitatis inficiunt, ut sic opinionem eius, quasi transmissa ad omnes gentes delatione, denigrent : furtive quidem id agi, ut, iniquitatis operante misterio, quanto magis res silentio ¹ premenda dicitur, tanto diffundatur in plures, quantoque secretius agitur, tanto sit efficacior ad nocendum. Non tamen arbitratur id de uestra conscientia uel uoluntate procedere, sed eis de diuturna apud uos commoratione paratur occasio, et audaciam comparat assiduitas impunita fallendi. Addit impetratu facile quicquid ab eius emulis imploratur, uota autem eius exquisita subtilitate discuti, uel tediosa dilatione suspendi. Si quos ergo de suis, uiros auctoritatis loquor, ad presentiam uestram uenire contingat, hi, qui familiarius ei assistunt, incertum suspicionis in malum fallaci statim adulatione confirmant. Consuevit enim illud hominum genus de minimis maxima fabricare, et, sicut inter eos nulla fides est, sic nullus uere caritatis affectus. Uniuscuiusque studium est alium quibus potest modis excludere, ut solitarie sibi familiaritatis priuilegium gaudeat adquisisse. Accessurum sibi pu- Cf pp 14, 173, tant quicquid alii fuerit derogatum, prouentusque suos reputant ² 186 and 216. aliorum semper utilitatibus obuiare.

Ego igitur, qui quantum dampnosa sit ³ suspicatio principum, Arnulf is sending licet innocens, frequentibus detrimentis agnoui, occasionem censi a messenger. postulandam, qua uel ab eo, sicut quandoque mitterer, uel aliqua me trahere necessitatis instantia uideretur. Que quia differebatur, nichil enim onerosum michi uestre gratia benignitatis imponit, mittendum duxi, ut diligentis absentiam legatio suppleat, que bene merite maiestati uestre deuotionem meam tam uua uoce quam litteris representet. Vester sum sancte Romane ecclesie tam uerna quam filius, cuius me assidue reminiscor exhilaratum gratia, preuentum beneficiis, honoribus | ampliatur. Nichil unquam par tante dig- fo 28^o nationi referam, nichil dignum tot meritis exhibebo, sed, etsi non debitorem operis exhibitio, perfecta tamen caritas consummate ⁴ deuotionis absoluit. ⁵

¹ silentio res, E.
⁴ consumate, E.

² reputat, A ³ sit. damp, E.
⁵ absoluet, A; allered, D ².

40. To Pope Alexander III.^a

[? 1164]

*D^a, E, A.**fo 26^v*He still cannot
visit the pope.*fo 27*His devotion for
the churchxxxj^a. Ad eundem

Quibus periculis exponere, quibus impendere laboribus personam meam destinauerim, ut mererer ad sublimitatis uestre uenire conspectum, nouerunt hii qui procinctum meum ad terras peragrandas et maria pariter exploranda uiderunt. | Iturus eram, sed iter meum diuulgato fama precessit inditio, ut facile michi possent insidie preparari. Ego enim homo sum, cui celebrem multe cause contulere noticiam, et cui apud hostes ecclesie plurimam zelus iusticie contraxit inuidiam, sibi que crederent successisse, si in persona mea et malignitati sue satisfacere, et uestram possent offendere maiestatem^b. Retinuit itaque me rex noster, qui, mea quidem uoluntate precedente, mittebat, negotiaque sua partim distulit, partim minoribus nuncius perferenda commisit. Intra pectus itaque meum maior anhelantis desiderii feruor exestuat, dilationem hanc quasi uulnerati cordis affectione deplorans, quod pedes uestros amplecti, et serenitatem uestram michi non datur oculis presentibus intueri. Facio interim quod possum, et me totum honori et utilitati ecclesie, quotiens occasio refulget, impendo, tanta siquidem uoluntate ut a plerisque de immodestia uidear arguendus. Animo enim diligenti nichil satis est, neque magna deuotio cuiuslibet operis exhibitione placatur, sed suos semper in anteriora conatus extendit. Hoc uobis apud me studium, hec continui laboris instantia, hic irreuocabilis perseuerantie uiuit affectus.

41. To Pope Alexander III.

[Early 1164 or 1165.]

*C^a.**fo. 62.*Acknowledges
the receipt of
letters from the

Domino pape Lexouiensis [episcopus]

Litteras uestre maiestatis accepti aduersus G. quendam de Lachun,^c qui a probatione monasterii Clareuallensis ad ecclesiam

^a See previous letter and note.^b A reference to his championship of Alexander during the schism.^c This letter is followed in the MS by the papal bull, dated 28 November at Sens, and it is printed by J von Pflugk-Harttung, *Acta pontificum romanorum* (Tubingen, 1880-8), II, 369

nostram et ad bona regressus fuerat, que reliquit ¹ Et ut mandati pope against a renegade monk of Clairvaux
tenor memorie uestre commendetur impressius, ipsarum transcrip-
tum litterarum presenti scripto studuimus annectere, ut nichil
omnino subtrahi ualeat ueritati

42. To Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury^a

[March 1165] *E, G, C¹, R.*

Ad sanctum Thomam Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, cum ex-fo 117.
ularet in Gallus.²

Magnam michi leticiam dignationis uestre littere contulerunt, omnibus siquidem diligenter ³ iterata lectione perspectis, nichil inuentum est quod non aut humilitatem saperet aut zelum iusticie redoleret. Placuit michi zelus uester, quia ipsum robusta commendabat humilitas, mutuoque sibi inuicem fauore zelus et humilitas concurrebant. Sic enim oportet ut humilitas feruoris incendia temperet, et ⁴ humilitatis modestiam zelus excitet et accendat, ne aut in pusillanimitatem descendat humilitas, aut in furorem zelus incitatus excedat. His igitur ⁵ sese inuicem mutua ⁶ caritate complexis, ⁷ intellexi tertiam duabus accessisse constantiam, que sanctis inuicem letos exitus et felices forti patientie repromittit euentus. Hec siquidem in uobis nec dampna nec labores attendit, set omni studio sincere conscientie testimonium querens, fortune simul et persone naufragium minoris estimat quam iusticie uel uirtutis

Arbitrabantur ⁸ aliqui, quorum malicia consuevit de aliena conscientia diuinare quod nescit, opus uestrum de superbia, non de uirtutis procedere ueritate affectare uos pristinos cancellarie mores in hac quoque dignitate seruare, ut nullus potentatui uestro, nullus audeat resistere uoluntati. gloriosum uobis fore, si procedentem

Thanks for his letters, and compliments on his attitude

The charges of his enemies.

¹ reliquid, *MS*

² Venerabili et dilecto domino et patri suo Thomae, Dei gratia Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, Ernulfus Luxoviensis episcopus, ad prosperitatem et salutem spiritu consiliu et fortitudinis peruenire, *R*; no title or address, *C²*

³ add ter, *R.*

⁴ ut, *C³*

⁵ ergo, *R*

⁶ in mutuas, a inserted, *C³*

⁷ amplexis, *C³*

⁸ Arbitrantur, *G*

^a See above, p. xlv. This letter is also found in the contemporary collections of Becket correspondence, and Robertson's conflated text, based largely on these sources (*Materials*, v, 302), is collated as *R*

olim de lubrico uoluntatis aliene potentiam uestro possetis nomini uendicare, cum rectius ecclesiastice dignitati reuerentia debeatur quam officio seculari. sublimatum enim uos et ad altiora diuina bonitate prouectum, nec iam uos scabellum pedis uel lateris etiam obseruare consessum, set ipsius diademati capitis imminere, quod scilicet adeo de uestra auctoritate pendeat, ut ipsius ad uos principaliter assignatio et assignationis consignatio debeat pertinere idcirco sane uos inter inicia regalibus obstitisse mandatis, ut in ipso crederetur uniuersitas expugnata, cum nulla relinqueretur alius fiducia resistendi, ubi regia non possent imperia preualere. Addebant uos inter amicos aliquando dixisse non fouendus in principe inconsultos elate iuuentutis affectus, set statim uiriliter intemperantie resistendum, ne dissimulatio creet audaciam, uel insolentiam indulgentia prona confirmet ^a notos uobis esse omnes regalis animi motus, quid lenitatis ¹ habeat, quid uirtutis audeat attemperare, ipsumque prudentie uestre magnificentiam ² nichilominus agnouisse, quam totiens in oportunitatibus utilem et in difficultatibus expertus sit efficacem non repudiandum ab eo blandis adulatorum fallacius consilium salutare, quo consueuerit fulcire nutantia, complanare scrupulos, obstantia dimouere. Que uerba, cum ad regis noticiam malignitatis inuidia detulisset, asserebant irreuocabiliter indignatum dixisse, quod totis utendum esset uiribus, totis artibus obsistendum, quoniam ei de dignitate contentio parabatur. impossibilem fore concordiam, quoniam neque uos ³ destinata dimittere, nec ipse quicquam uellet dignitati regie derogare. Igitur de incerto opinionis et malignitatis inuidia procedente iudicio, uarie dissidentesque sententie ferebantur.

His justification.
fo. 117^a.

Phil iii, 9

Porro iam processu temporis omnis est sublata dubietas, propositique uestri sanctitas euiden[t]ibus argumentis innotuit, adeo ut boni certe compatiantur et gaudeant, et debita ceperit operire confusio malignantes. Certum est hoc, et luce clarius apud omnes existit, ⁴ minoris reputasse uos diuitias quaslibet et precepte ⁵ fastigium dignitatis quam ⁶ iusticiam, *que ex deo est*, et gloriam ecclesiastice libertatis. Si enim fauori diuino fauorem preferretis

¹ lenitatis, R

² magni|centiam, G

³ nos, C^a

⁴ extitit, G

⁵ percepte, R

⁶ quoniam, G

^a Quoted in a late thirteenth-century Durham MS in the muniments of the dean and chapter, Loc., iii, 40, among other excerpts from the Becket correspondence, membrane 2 *dorse*, line 49, 'Ne dissimulacio audaciam creet, vel insolentiam indulgentia prona confirmet'

humanum, et ad inducendos profane nouitatis abusus ^a uestra consentiret auctoritas, poteratis non solum cum summa tranquillitate degere, set ipsi etiam magis quam olim principi conregnare, quod autem uestra familiarius interesset, uestro temperaretur arbitrio, et, exposito sanguine ceterorum, domesticus status uester ex omni parte seruaretur illesus Verum sanctitas uestra, debitum episcopalis officii recognoscens, maluit interim sequestrare potentiam, facultates exponere, ipsam quoque personam quibushbet iniuriis patienter offerre. Euangelicum siquidem ¹ illud fidei memoria retinetis, summi pastoris doctrina proditum ² et firmatum exemplo, quod pro ouibus et fratribus nostris debeamus animas ponere, non Joh x, 15. de ipsorum detrimentis detestabilem lucri materiam comparare. Poterat autem onus distributione leuari, si causa communis, communi tractata consilio, communi suffragio niteretur; firmatam quippe concordia spiritus unitatem uerum est uexationibus posse concuti, nulla tamen improbitate conuelli. Igitur inualescente malicia, qui ad tempus crediderant, temptationis tempore recesserunt, ducisque sui non tantum facti sunt desertores, set in castra hostium, facto transfugio, concesserunt. Si uero ceptis perseueranter insisterent, et quoslibet patienter experirentur euentus, in semetipsam uehementia collisa recideret, et conceptos immanitas desperata frenaret affectus. Set ubi, pertractatis animis singulorum, communi cause priuata preualuit, desperatio resumpsit audaciam, et sepultas spes reduiua suscitauit denuo questiones. Verum tergiuersantibus, immo preuaricantibus, uniuersis, ad standum ex aduerso, et opponendum se *murum pro domo Israel*, uirtutis uestre magnificentia sola Ezech, xiii, 5 relicta est, que redemptam semel sanguine Christi ³ suo iterum sanguine redimat libertatem Licet enim nondum usque ad sanguinis effusionem causa peruenerit, suplet tamen deuotio meritum passionis, que personam uestram minis et terroribus non solum exposuit, set obiecit.

Et cum prorsus incredibile sit ipsum in uestram aliquid crudelius excogitasse ⁴ personam, tamen non satis poterat inter tot indignationis motus bonitas abscondita diuinari, presertim cum rerum omnium ⁵ signa in uestram uiderentur perniciem conuenire Sperauit siquidem uos ad obsequendum terroribus inclinare, tanto

His flight, and excuses for the king's conduct.

¹ add et, C^s.

² debitum, C^s.

³ Ch. sang, E.

⁴ cogitasse, R

⁵ om. rer, C^s, R.

^a A reference to the Constitutions of Clarendon.

L.A.L.

que seuerius terrendum censuit, quanto a maiori lesione censuit abstinendum. Denique si uestrum uoluisset ¹ impedire discessum, non serenitas aeris, non uentorum gratia, non tranquillitas maris, non uos nautarum industria deduxisset, ubique enim uobis manus regie potestatis occurreret, cuius nec diligentia falli poterat, nec potentia circumscribi. Set et quamdiu domestica uos complectentis insule brachia continerent, neque uobis tanta nocendi pateret occasio, nec tanta inuidie materia garriendi. Nunc uero quibushibet querimonis silentia uestra preponderant, et quolibet improbius est ² fuga uestra congressu, dum uobis fauorem publicum modestia uestra conciliat, et ipsum efficacius apud opinionem publicam typo quodam excusantis accusat. Mallet igitur, si animum eius seuerior indurauit affectus, presentem frequentibus uexare molestius, quam ad indulgentiam qualibet importunitate ³ compelli. Mallet, si mitius ⁴ aliquid quandoque proposuit, ut id liberalitati eius in beneficium, quam patientie uestre cederet in triumphum.

His supporters
and adversaries.

Ad summam frequenti uobis est consideratione tractandum, que causa uestra ⁵ sit, quis aduersarius, que parti uestre studia suffragentur. Et cause quidem iusticia manifesta est, quoniam pro ecclesie dei libertate contenditur, quam ⁶ ille semel in cruce liberator eucit, et redemptam inpreciablem precio uniuersis, qui ipsius nomine censerentur, ⁷ reddidit uniformem. Sicut enim una fides est, una est et libertas, quam idemptitas sacramentorum et operantis omnia spiritus simplicitas consecrat et confirmat. In hoc quippe consistit unitatis ecclesiastice mirabile sacramentum, quod sicut una fides est, unus spiritus et ⁸ unum baptisma, ita est unum manumissionis perpetue testamentum, quo nos diuine bonitatis adoptio non tantum liberos efficit, set etiam coheredes. In quo quotiens libertati detrahatur, constat fidei nichilominus derogari, quoniam mutua sibi inuicem ratione connexe eadem semper et dispendia sentiunt et prouentus.

The character
of his royal
adversary.

Porro aduersus eum uobis agendum est, cuius astutiam remoti, uicini potentiam, seueritatem subditi, reformidant; quem adeo crebri successus et fortune fecit gratia delicatum, ut, quicquid non obsequitur, ducat iniuriam; quem quanto moueri facilius, tanto sit difficilius mitigari; apud quem temeritatem non fouet impunitas, set indilatam delictis irrogat ultionem. Verum humilitati et

¹ uoluit uel uoluisset, E

⁴ minus, G.

⁶ quoniam, G.

² est im, E

⁵ ues. caus, R

⁷ censentur, E

³ impunitate, R.

⁸ om, R.

patientie prestat se quandoque¹ tractabilem, uiribus non sustinet expugnari, set plane quicquid fecerit, de uoluntate uideatur non de impotentia prouenisse. Querit enim potius gloriam quam pro-
uentum, quod in principe posset satis commendabile reputari, si Cf. p. 34.
glorie materiam uirtus et ueritas, non uanitas, et dulcis usque in exicium² adulatio compararet. Magnus est, multorumque maximus, quoniam nec superiorem habet qui terreat, neque subditum qui repugnet, nec alienis extrinsecus pulsatur iniuriis, quibus ab innato domestice feritatis mansuescat affectu; set omnes qui aduersus eum contentionis causas habent, potius ad uane pacis federa peritura conueniunt, quam ad iurum experimenta decurrant, quoniam³ diuitiarum copia, multitudine fortium, amplitudine potestatis excedit.

Quod sane contemplati, quorum ope niti, quorum muniri consilio, The behaviour of
quorum fulciri suffragio debuistis, | a uobis uelut facto agmine the bishops
discesserunt, quando maxime nominis sui rationem deberent agno- fo 118.
scere, et se uobis suffraganeos, non refraganeos, exhibere. Vtinam pristine professionis sue memores extitissent, que, concepta semel, in seriem totam future successionis extenditur, et, nouo succedente, uetus semper in idipsum obligatio reformatur¹. Hii sunt qui ad uestram causam,⁴ immo causam Christi, per omnia discrimina prosequendam tenebantur obnoxii, si debitum ordinis sui⁵ et detrimentum ecclesiastice libertatis attenderent. Set qua fide, qua caritate uobiscum, immo cum deo, ceperint ambulare, uidistis, quia in necessitate uestra nec utendum dissimulatione, nec sermonibus temperandum, nec parcendum contumeliis consueuerunt, set totis studiis sese inuicem preuenire certabant, et unusquisque uos uel magis odisse crederetur, uel in nichilo pepercisse. Mirabatur Romanus pontifex, et hii penes quos cum eo summa disponende ecclesie cura consistit, quod oues in pastorem, quod in patrem filii, quod in seipsos denique tanta uehementia gladios contorquerent. Si enim potuissent efficere quod querebant, nec ipsum libertatis nomen, nec spes libertatis aliqua resedisset, set tanta iam regiminis ecclesiastici fuisset secuta confusio, ut nichil ordine tractaretur, set omnia stolido permiscerentur errore, cum, sublati pristinis institutionibus, nichil ad debitos suo iure dirigeretur effectus. In his igitur, quantum michi uidetur, non nisi inanem uobis potestis

¹ aliquando uel quandoque, E

² ad exitum, C^s ³ quam, G.

⁴ caus. uest., C^s, R.

⁵ ordinis sui debitum, R.

collocare fiduciam, quia fidelem reconciliationi operam non impendent,¹ qui causam discidio² prestiterunt

The sympathy of
the lower clergy

Reliqui uero fere omnes, qui³ in inferioribus sunt³ gradibus constituti, personam uestram sincere caritatis brachius amplexantur; altis, set in silentio, suspirius implorantes, ut sponsus ecclesie ad gloriam sui nominis felici uota uestra secundet euentu⁴. Nullus tamen est qui se uobis amicum audeat confiteri; set quo magis odisse credantur, ueteres inimiciciarum causas allegant, ne indicta, uelut in ceteros, proscriptione dampnentur. Fertur enim de suspitione sententia, nec ad irrogandam penam ueritatis argumenta queruntur, set inuoluuntur equalitate supplicii, quos culpa non equauerat qualitate delicti. Profecto gratissima uobis eorum debet esse compassio, quia, licet animos sublimium minorum uota non⁵ moueant, indignationem tamen diuine etiam maiestatis expugnant, ut tanto fiat ad indulgentiam prouisor, quanto ab humiliore⁶ fuerit reuerentia supplicatum. Respicit enim *in orationem*⁷ *humilium*; causam potius reputat quam personam, ut cause semper iusticia sua, quantumcumque dilata, respondeat, et persone nichilominus merces meritis compensata concurrat. Eorum igitur apud deum uobis poterit prodesse deuotio, set apud regem, sicut nullam impetrandi fiduciam habent, sic nullam fiduciam⁸ supplicandi.

Ps ci, 18.

The hostility of
the nobles

Ad hec, si studia procerum ducitis inquirenda, certum est eos aduersus ecclesiam dei quasi fedus inuicem contraxisse, ut utilitates eius semper impedian, et dignitatibus incessanter obsistant; quia totum sibi reputant deperire, quicquid eius uel honori uel prouentui⁹ uiderint accessisse. Instant alacrius, eo quod eis grata de temporis oportunitate refulget occasio, quia uires eis regie suffragantur, quoniam predicant se in his ad statum regni conseruandum fidelem diligentiam adhibere. Aiunt predecessores eius nec tantas uires, nec tantam¹⁰ potestatis amplitudinem habuisse. non¹¹ oportere eum indignius regnare, uel remissius operari: dignitati magis quam utilitatibus intendendum,¹² cum plerumque cupiditatem lucra redoleant, dignitas semper reuerentiam augeat, et gloriam maiestatis illustret. Attribuunt ergo dignitati quicquid olim de potestate constat esse presumptum, licet illud nec fidei concordet, nec rationi conueniat, nec consentiat equitati. Ille uero audius quam expediret

¹ impendunt, G.

² non uota, C³.

³ audatiam, C³, R.

¹¹ nec, R.

⁴ dissidio, R.

⁵ om, R.

⁶ humiliori, R.

⁷ prouentibus, C³, R.

¹² insistendum uel intendendum, E.

⁸ effectu uel euentu, E

⁹ ordinem, C³

¹⁰ tantum, G

blandos adulantium sermones amplectitur, fidem reputans quod nichil aliud quam dolum malignitatis esse nouissimo deprehendet effectu. Si quis enim eorum altius uota discutiatur, intelliget, quia callide sibi gratiam eius et ipsi laboris ac detrimenti materiam preparant in futurum. Ad hoc totis anelant desideris, totis artibus elaborant, dummodo eorum non innotescat intentio. ut scilicet eius quandoque potentia reprimi possit, ipsisque uetus delictorum impunitas et noua delinquendi licentia reparetur. Horum quanto promptior est malignitas, tanto est efficacior ad nocendum, quia eis familiaritas occasionem prestat, et auctoritatem excellentia subministrat.

Preter hec, si extraneorum subsidia discretio uestra consideret, in primis cum gratia statim effuse liberalitatis occurrunt, set postmodum tedio diuturnitatis tepescit affectio, et liberalitas impendii quantitate lassatur. Onus quippe modicum itineris longitudine certum est ingrauari, et domestice sarcine onus sepe preponderat alienum. Heret altius, difficilisque conuellitur, qui de precedentibus meritis adoleuit affectus; semperque se uerecundia reputat obligatam, donec saltem que precepta¹ sunt, uberius compensata soluantur. Constat itaque delicate tractandos esse, quos ad beneficium ultronee gratia caritatis inuitat, nec oblatum liberaliter poculum quis absorbeat alienum, set citra uotum etiam largientis manus continende sunt, ne alienam uirtutem necessitas uel impudentia nostra consumat.

Hec sunt que bonum est uestram² crebrius tractare prudentiam, et rationis instrumentis sepius expensa reuoluere; et sic omnia quasi sub unum conferatis aspectum, et quid singula ponderis habeant plenius de ipsa possint³ collatione perpendi. Ceterum media uobis erit uia securior, ut nec propositum uestrum aduersitatis austeritas⁴ interuertat, nec conscientia ueritatis obduret, ne uos uel pauor desperatum faciat, uel confidentia pertinacem. Tolerandum quippe est quod sine crimine potest fideique periculo temperari, multaque ad | tempus dissimulare necesse est, que⁵ statim nequeunt emendari, fo 118^v. donec tranquillior nobis⁶ spiritus aure lenioris aspiret. Non enim semper eosdem diuersa tempora representant euentus, set presentia nobis quandoque preteritorum detrimenta restaurant. Circa contingentia nichil stabile sibi potest infirmitas humana prefigere, nec de

¹ percepta, C³, R

² que bonum uestram est, *transposed from* que uestram bonum est, E.

³ possit, R ⁴ auctoritas, G ⁵ quia, R. ⁶ uobis, G, R.

The chances of external aid.

Advises constancy and equanimity

Ps. lxxvi, 11.

Cf p. 101.

Advises him to
accept overtures
for peace, and
to avoid in-
sistence on
minutiae.

suorum etiam niti possunt affectibus animorum, set et ipsos fortuitis casibus coherere necesse est, et ad singulos eorum motus singulas effingere uoluntates. Totis siquidem studius coguntur exquirere, quod ab eis modo nullis poterat precibus impetrari, quia *dextere excelsi* repentina *mutatio* totam docet ilico mansuescere feritatem. Sic est, in manu dei corda sunt ¹ hominum pariter et persone, parique facilitate et personas de medio tollere potest, et animos immutare. Super quo spem uobis certissimam tribuant conscientie puritas et momenta fortune, quia nec ea, que uobis aduersantur, eterna sunt, nec sperantem in se confundi iusticia diuina permittet. Inclinet siquidem deus animum principis, et auersum sua bonitate conuertet, ut regnum et sacerdocium paribus sibi inuicem coeperentur auxilium, mutuam sibi reuerentiam, mutuam exhibeant caritatem. Si quis enim prouida prudentie ueteris instituta consideret, a quibus tam religionis ecclesiastice quam regalis excellentie iura fluxerunt, cognoscet ea tanta sibi inuicem rationis necessitate conexas, ut plurimam alterum de altero contrahat firmitatem. Unde si quid inuicem uolentie uel iniurie fuerit irrogatum, in eum, qui irrogauerit, ² constat esse uertendum, quia neque pax ecclesie sine regno, neque regno salus poterit nisi per ecclesiam prouenire. In caput igitur actoris ³ reuertetur iniuria, ipsumque sibi manus intulisse nouissimo comparebit effectus.

Interim si quid uobis serenitatis ceperit apparere, occasionem uestra sapientia ⁴ non repellat, set oblatam prompto colligatis amplexu. Super quo si quid tractandum inciderit, nolite singulos articulos nimia subtilitate discutere, quia subtilitas contentionem parit, contentio uero sopitos odiorum ignes quasi quibusdam flatibus excitat et accendit. Non erit uobis ad singularia decurrendum, ⁵ set quasi generalibus studiosius inherere, ⁶ quia salua res est, nisi pactiones specialiter expresse perimant libertatem. Si enim nos fidei profiteamur, et reuerentie et obsequii ⁷ debitores, si bona et personas nostras honori et utilitatibus eius offerimus impendendas, si ⁸ regias dignitates et antiquas consuetudines, in quibus legi dei non obuiant, promittimus obseruare, non ledit, quia in his omnibus contra debitum nullatenus obligamur. Si ergo sub hac uel simili uerborum conceptione pacem uobis et uestris bonitas diuina parauerit, interpretationes uerborum futuris reseruate temporibus;

¹ Domini sunt corda, R ² irrogauit, R ³ actoris igitur, C³
⁴ sap ues., R ⁵ recurrendum, R. ⁶ inherete, E. ⁷ obsequius, G.
⁸ sed, G.

quia nec ¹ ipse uobis tot mouebit de cetero questiones, et uos in omnibus poterunt experimenta presentia reddere cautiorem. Set neque uobis apud homines gloriam uideamini querere uel triumphum, set regi, tanquam precellenti, omnis honor, omnis uictoria conferatur, dum tamen uobis liceat coram deo de conscientie uestre testimonio gloriari.

Ego uero fidele paci uestre ministerium, ut deuotus, ita promptus impendam, quoniam aduersitati uestre, deo teste, compator, et personam uestram et causam sincere brachus caritatis amplector. Certum siquidem est quia fortunam uestram et personam pro fratribus uestris uelut quoddam holocaustum ² deo in odorem suauitatis offertis, ut labor uester nobis cedat ad requiem, inopia uestra nostras redimat facultates, et quod residuum libertatis est ³ patientia nobis uestra confirmet. Proinde sic agendum erit michi, ut me uobis prima facie profitear inimicum, quia amicum profitenti neque fides haberetur, nec aliquis prestaretur accessus. Poterit igitur ⁴ conciliando fauori simulatio deseruire, ut utilitati uestre cautius uirtus operis et industria sermonis incumbat. Proinde consolamini, quia de aduentu eius ad partes istas plurima nobis commoditas incipit apparere; ^a quia presens efficacius ab his, qui uos diligunt, poterit implorari; nec indecorum sibi reputare poterit eorum auctoritati cedere, acquiescere consiliis, precibus inclinari.

Offer of secret help

The advantage of Henry's arrival.

Venit autem animi solito mansuetioris, ut aiunt, quia animum eius, licet ipse dissimulet, quedam presage futurorum amaritudines interpellant; quoniam intelligit in plerisque locis sibi scintillas quasdam ad excitanda incendia confoueri. Mouetur enim Francorum inuidia, calumpniisque Flandrensium, Galensium improbitate, Scotorum insidus, temeritate Britonum, Pictaunorumque federibus, ⁵ interioris Aquitannie sumptibus, Gasconum leuitate, et, quod grauius est, similitate fere omnium quoscunque ⁵ ditioni eius constat esse subiectos ^b. Suspectam etiam habet Romani pontificis, quam ipse

Difficulties which may incline him to reconciliation.

¹ non, R

² insert uelut quoddam holo before pro fratribus, G

³ est lib, E

⁴ ergo, R

⁵ om federibus . . quoscunque, G

^a Henry crossed to Normandy in February 1165 (Eyton)

^b Unless the letter dates from 1168 this paragraph is rhetorical exaggeration. The whole tone of the letter, however, suggests that Becket had only recently gone into exile

motu repentino contraxit, offensam; regnique status¹ adeo de absentie uestre causa confusus² est, ut nec ecclesiastica nec³ secularia suo procedant ordine, neque quisquam sciat quid iuri ecclesiastico, quid seculari debeat assignare. Pro his omnibus proposuit primo cum rege Francorum quibusdam⁴ conditionibus conuenire, ut suo et ipsius terrore coniuncto facilius possit cetera complanare.^a Disposuit etiam, sicut aunt, in plerisque mitius agere, ut ad pacem omnia dissimulatis reuocentur iniuriis, et ipse celeri reditu ad reprimendam Galensium reuertatur audaciam,^b priusquam cum eis Scoti Britonesque conueniant, et Albania, sicut prophetatum est, incipiat indignari. Venit igitur imperata factururus, si fuerit qui sciat uel audeat imperare, utilius estimans aliquid ad tempus de fastu ueteris supercili sequestrare quam expectare, ut in perniciem eius, que predicta sunt, omnia uel pleraque⁵ concurrant. Valete.

Dominus personam uestram conseruet incolumem, et aduersitatem uestram uelociter ad secundos reducat euentus.

[Verum, si hec alicui duxeritis ostendenda, nomen supprimatur auctoris, quia, quantum mea intersit, hec ad regis noticiam non uenire uestra experientia non ignorat. Rescribite michi crebrius, sed secrete, ut quomodo procedendum sit, uestra me prudentia doceat, et curiosa malignitas nostra inuicem studia non cognoscat.]⁶

[Salutatio mea in manu Milonis]⁷

43. To Pope Alexander III.

D²; E, A.

[Spring 1165.]

fo. 27.

On behalf of Reimbert, the deposed precentor of Orleans.

xxxij^a. Ad eundem.

Dominus Reimbertus⁸ Aurelianensis amicus noster est,^c mutuisque obsequiis plurima nobis inuicem sumus caritate coniuncti.

¹ statum, G, C²; *erasure*, E.

² confusum, G, C², *erasure*, E

³ neque, C².

⁴ quibuscumque, C², R

⁵ plura, C².

⁶ Passage added by C² and R

⁷ Passage added by R.

⁸ R, E.

^a Henry spoke with Louis on 11 April 1165 (Eyton, Louis Halphen, 'Les entrevues des rois Louis VII et Henri II durant l'exil de Thomas Becket en France', in *Mélanges d'histoire offerts à M. Charles Bémont*).

^b There was trouble in Wales in 1164, and Henry returned for an expedition in May 1165 (Tongni, pp. 222, 225; William of Newburgh, 'Historia rerum angl.' in *Chron. of . . . Stephen*, etc., 1, 145, Eyton).

^c Until recently precentor of the chapter of St Aignan, Orleans. He had powerful supporters, for King Louis also wrote to the pope requesting his restoration. Alexander, in a firm refusal of the demand, dated 25 June 1165,

Inde est quod nostris ad presens apud maiestatem uestram precibus petit adiuuari, ea nimirum fiducia quia nouit quod uota nostra apud benignitatem uestram desideratum crebrius consequuntur effectum. Priuauit eum sententia uestra precentoria, quam habebat, pro delicto quodam, quod ipse, sicut ¹ asserit, non de malitia qualibet, sed de sola simplicitate commisit. Existimauit enim factum illud ad tenorem iuramenti publici non spectare, | neque se religionem *fo 27^v.* credidit excedere sacramenti, si non communicabat aliis quod singulariter de sola ipsius uoluntate pendeat. Conuentus autem a fratribus, non restitit improbe, nec superbe respondit, sed statim errorem suum, si tamen error erat, ad publicam uoluit corrigere uoluntatem. In quo, si certum est nec precessisse malitiam, nec superbiam successisse, delicti quantitas fines clementie non excedit, poteritque ex hoc nunc *Romani* pontificis misericordia subuenire, in qua nobis diuina bonitas et remedium salutare constituit et refugium singulare, siquidem quantum ad culpam satis uindicatum est, quia homini uerecundo ad maiorem penam confusio quam magna etiam detrimenta procedit. Porro cum ei ad ueniam simplicitas, nichilominus ad gratiam deuotio suffragatur, quia uerum est ipsum semper *Romane* ecclesie secundum facultatem suam humilibus obsequiis inseruisse. Pro omnibus itaque que predicta sunt, fiducia accedimus ad rogandum, et quia gloriosum nobis erit tantum a dignatione uestra beneficium impetrasse, et iocundum aliquid consolationis amico in tanta amaritudine perquisisse.

44. To King Louis VII.

[Autumn 1165] Vatican, reg., lat. 179

Karissimo domino suo, *Ludouico*, dei gratia glorioso regi *Francorum*, *Arnulfus*, *Lexouiensis* ecclesie humilis minister, salutem et deuotum cum omni deuotione obsequium.

Letificauit animam meam lator presentium gaudio diu desiderato, gaudio quod tam nos quam ceteri fideles regni *Francorum* longis *Congratulations on the birth of an heir*

¹ sicut ipse, *E*.

states that he had been allowed to keep his prebend and provostship (*H F.*, xv, 837). Cuissard, 'Dignitaires et chanoines de la collégiale de saint-Aignan', in *Bulletin soc. arch. hist. Orléans*, xi (1895), erroneously lists Reimbert on this evidence as occurring in 1175

suspirauimus desiderus, et nunc crebris exultationibus suscipimus adimpletum. Visitauit deus plebem suam, totique regno Francorum misericordie sue uiscera patefecit, dum et certum uobis heredem instituit,^a et iustum uniuersis regni Francorum primatibus dominum ordinauit. Nullus enim erit adeo superbus aut contumax, qui illi debitum famulatum detrectet impendere, quem de carne uestra ad regni nouerit gubernacula procreatum.

Conseruet omnipotens deus personam uestram, regnum stabilat, sobolemque uestram uobis et nobis in tempora multiplicet longiora.

Ceterum pro latore presentium, Bernardō, supplicamus, quatinus ad id, quod dominus suus ei legauerat, obtinendum nostras sibi preces sentiat profuturas

45. To Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London.

D^s, E, A.

[Summer 1164.]

fo. 28^v.

xxxin^j^a Ad Gillebertum, Londoniensem episcopum.

On behalf of
the bearer.

Lator presentium amicus noster est, ^bnostrisque petit precibus

^a The future King Philip Augustus was born on 21 August 1165 (Suger, *De glorioso rege Ludouico* [ed A. Molnier, 1887], pp 176-8, Torigni, p 225)

^b If this can be connected with the next letter there is a strong presumption that it concerns the case between Herbert, abbot of the Benedictine house of Grestain in the diocese of Lisieux, 1139-78, and John, a priest, which was decided by Foliot as judge-delegate (Foliot, ep no 181, *MPL*, cxc, 885, and no 205, *ibid*, col 910, which determines the date) After presenting John to the church of West Frie with its chapel Charlston in Sussex and in the diocese of Chichester, the abbot tried to disturb his tenure by the intrusion of Henry, a monk of the abbey John appealed, and the pope appointed Foliot as judge, who then decided the case in his favour The sentence was promulgated at the time when Foliot and Hilary of Chichester were about to go to the pope at the order of the king, and the only time that the two bishops visited the pope together on a legation was in October 1164 after the council of Northampton (*Materials*, II, 336, 402, III, 323 etc) Nicholas, archdeacon of Middlesex, who witnesses Foliot's sentence, occurs in 1162 (*Le Neve, Fasti*). Also see above, p xxxv

The Editors of *Gallia Christiana* believed that this business concerned the abbot William I, who succeeded Herbert in 1180, and who was transferred to the abbey of St Martin of Pontoise in 1185 This would mean that Arnulf was occupied with the case during his exile and after his resignation of the bishopric Yet such a manifest error was repeated by Deshayes (*op. cit*, *supra*, p. xiii), II, 70 and by the author of a modern monograph on the abbey, Ch. Bréard, *L'abbaye de Notre-Dame de Grestain* (Rouen, 1904), pp 44-57

apud uos adiuuari, eoque instantius quia confidit quod preces nostre apud caritatem uestram utilem sine difficultate sortiantur effectum. Gaudet quod amatori iusticie ueritatis sit delegata cognitio, quod, Cf. p. 158. precumstrarum suffragio munitus, accedit ut in prouentum eius apud uos sincera fraterne religio caritati concurret. Licet autem pluralitas instrumentorum uiam possit aperire iudicio, omnem tamen absoluet testium numerositas et ueritas notoria questionem, desertaque prouocatio motum iudicis excitabit, quam scilicet aduersarius huius censuit opponendam, eo quidem astu ut ei uacaret affectatam rapinam in bona pauperis licentius exercere. Verum quid in male fidei possessorem sine titulo super principali causa, quid in desertorem appellationis super sumptibus et expensis decernendum sit, uestra peritia non ignorat, ne scilicet ¹ uis aut dolus impunita pretereant, uel inmeritum patiatur innocentia detrimentum. Porro negotium uobis in expedito *Romani* pontificis collocauit auctoritas, sublato nimirum appellationis obstaculo, in quo sibi calumpniatores plerumque occasionem uexandi constituunt et refugium euadendi.^a Nunc enim parebit uobis, licet inuita, quasi quibusdam terminis circumscripta malignitas, cum nec ad presens forum uestrum possit excedere, nec seueritatis uestre sententiam declinare. Valete ²

46. To Herbert, abbot of Grestain.^b[June-July 1165.]^c D¹, E, Axxxv^a. Ad abbatem Gristanensem ³|fo 28^v

Quartus decimus mensis agitur, uel fortassis exactus est, ex quo ad aliud regnum et transmarinas regiones a monasterio tuo sine episcopi tui benedictione et conscientia discessisti. Quanta autem interim idem monasterium in spiritalibus et temporalibus detri-

fo 29.

Orders the abbot of Grestain to return to his duties
Cf. p. 84, line 8, and p. 87, line 18.

¹ uidelicet, E.² om, E³ Cristanensem, A

^a Cf. St Bernard, *De consideratione*, (M P L, clxxxii), iii, 2, 'Non est autem suffugium appellatio, sed refugium'

^b See note to preceding letter

^c Herbert's lawsuit was *sub iudice* in the summer of 1164 (see preceding letter), and it is likely that this warning was sent in the next year. This is an important date, for on it hangs the whole chronology. We know then that Herbert left for England in April or May 1164, just before the hearing of his case, and that fixes the date of the next letter, which was written when Herbert had been in England almost two years.

menta perpeſſum ſit, et fratres ſentiunt, et tota regio proteſtatur ! Nuntiaturo¹ nobis te in Anglia nichil niſi lites et calunnias exercere, et cum graui monaſterii tui ſumptu ſine utili cauſa totam diſcurrere regionem.² Super quo reuocandum te duximus, et in uirtute obediencie iniungendum, ut infra kalendas Auguſti, diſpoſitis rebus illis utiliter, ad monaſterium reuertaris, niſi uel infirmitate uel tempeſtate marina fueris impeditus. Noſſe etenim debes quod propenſior cura animabus eſt impendenda quam rebus ; ideoque, niſi infra diem aſſignatam ueneris, nos tibi mandatum mittere ſeruarius oportebit.

47. To Pope Alexander III.^b

D² ; E, A, C²²

[c. March 1166.]^c

fo 48

The lamentable
ſtate of the
monaſtery of
Greſtain

xliij. Ad³ papam Alexandrum.

Eſt in epiſcopatu, cui deo permittente deſeruiſſo, monaſterium quoddam nomine Griſtanum, quod⁴ aliquando ſuauiſſimi odorem circumquaque diffudit, ſed in diebus abbatis iſtius merita diu laborauit infamia, ſicut et preſentes uidiſſe conſtat et remotos audiſſe. Nec enim infra domeſticos parietes contineri ſcandala potuerunt,⁵ que, procedente temeritatis audacia, publicis offerebantur aſpectibus, et per ora publica perſonabant,⁶ quoniam fratres loci illius ab operibus euſmodi nec timor⁷ dei,⁸ nec hominum reuerentia cohibebat. Quorum quanto maior immanitas exſtitit, tanto latius celeriusque fama diſcurrante uulgata ſunt, maioremque apud omnes contraxit offeſſam, quod palam tanta a ſanctuario procedere malicia uideretur. Siquidem nulla uel modica erat intrinſecus regularis obſeruantia diſcipline, minor extrinſecus exhibitio

¹ enim, E.

² Part of this letter is repeated in ep. no. 49 (q v), which occurs uniquely in C². It is that verſion which is collated here, and not the normal verſion which alſo is to be found in C³

³ add dominum, A. ⁴ Beginning of the paſſage repeated in ep. no. 49 (q v), ſee note 2, ⁵ poterunt, E ⁶ diſſonabant, C²

⁷ timorem, C². ⁸ om, C².

^a For a liſt of the poſſeſſions of Greſtain in England, ſee King Richard's charter of 1189, printed Dugdale, *Monaſticum Anglicanum* (ed. J. Caley), v. 2, 1090-1, and in two verſions by Bréard, *op. cit.*, pp. 199, ſeqq

^b See the two preceding letters ^c See previous page, note c.

caritatis, quia nec hospites agnoscere consueuerant, neque ¹ quicquam pauperibus impartire, sed ipsas etiam communis mense reliquias ad impendendum ² priuatis affectibus dissolutionis impudentia reseruabat. Parua sunt hec, sed ad sanguinem prorupit insania, ut a nulla specie criminis manus eorum seruarentur immunes

Constat eos in clauastro strictis inuicem concurrisse ³ cultellis, ⁴ sicut cicatrices uix obducte et recentia quoque uulnera protestantur, ac, nisi de cultellis ⁴ eorum pugionem prouida ⁵ sustulisset antiquitas, sepius usque ad alternas etiam mortes intemperantia deseuisset. In monasterio ipso immersam ⁶ aque frigidiori mulierem uis algoris extinxit. Vt enim miracula facere crederentur, ⁷ et quibuslibet commentis secularium personarum frequentes inuitarent accessus, | sanitatis remedia promittebant ei, qui se incantate ⁸ ab eis nescio quibus carminibus aque septies sustineret immergi. Egra itaque mulier, aque glaciali frequenter immersa, inter manus comprimementium monachorum congelata decessit, dum uim algoris egritudo non sustinet, et profana religio naturam potius irritat ad perniciem ⁹ quam dei misericordiam ad salutem ¹⁰ Ministrum coquene, cum debitum pronus exequeretur officium, quidam e monachis interfecit, quia dicebatur aliquando de nimia illius circa uxorem suam frequentia murmurasse. Ceruicem itaque ipsius, adacto ¹⁰ totis uiribus pistillo grandiore, confregit, et innoxio sanguine pulmenta, que tam ipsi quam ceteris fratribus parabantur, aspersit

Super quibus, cum ego sepius abbatem caritate debita commonerem, nec enim seuerius cogere permittebar, dissimulandum potius quam districtione ¹¹ monastica censuit occurrendum. Dedit itaque dissimulatio remissa ¹² fidutiam, quia sibi nichil ¹³ non licere credebant, quos nec ratio propria nec aliena correptio refrenabat. Porro nulla abbati discipline restabat auctoritas, quia etiam a reprobis eorum disciplina contempnitur, in quibus bene composite mentis opera non uidentur. Augebat audatiam quod eis in clauastro neccessaria non dabantur, sed ¹⁴ ad recompensationem subtracte

¹ nec, C³ ² impediendum, C³ ³ cucurrisse, C³ ⁴ cultellis, C³
⁵ prouida, D² ⁶ in mensam, C³, altered from immensam, D²
⁷ uiderentur, E ⁸ incantante, C³ ⁹ perniciem, C³ ¹⁰ adacto, C³
¹¹ districtione, D². ¹² om., A; inserted, D² ¹³ nichil sibi, E, C³
¹⁴ add quasi, A, C³; quas expunged, D²

^a Cf the tart story concerning St Bernard's failure to perform a miracle given in Walter Mapes' *De nugis curialium* (Camden Soc, vol 1), p. 42.

neecessitatis liberior eis euagandi licentia laxabatur. Solent enim huiusmodi persone patientius inopiam portare quam regulam, et a prelatis suis peccandi libertatem quantalibet egestate mercantur ¹

who lingered
in England
See ep no 45

fo 49
He is recalled :
ep no. 46
cf ep. no 49,
p. 87, line 18.

He leaves again.
Cf p 87, line 29.

His drunken
deputy is mur-
dered by monks
he had
attacked.

Arnulf suggests
the refoundation
of the house.

Meanwhile he
has ejected the
murderers,
(Cf. p. 88, line 9).

and refers to
the pope.

fo 49°.

Ad hec, ut nulla eis effluendi deesset occasio, abbas sepius quasi ad disponenda bona monasterii nauigabat in Angliam, ubi sine consorte degens et iudice, gule et lateri, sicut dicebatur, indulgens, parum aliquid preter uagos discursus et lites superuacuas exercebat. Ubi nouissime per continuum fere biennium demoratus, episcopalis edicti neecessitate reductus est, statumque monasterii deteriore[m] satis quam reliquerat reuersus inuenit. Cumque statim cepisset monachorum contentionibus infestari, festinantem redire prohibui, nisi ordinato monasterio prius michi personas idoneas, que curam gererent uicarie sollicitudinis, assignasset. Ipse uero ² episcopali, qua ei premineo, auctoritate neglecta, et debito obedientie, de cuius exhibitione uinculo iurate professionis tenetur astrictus, sine conscientia mea reuersus est, nemine domi relicto qui sciret uel curam ordinis gerere uel temporalia dispensare. Quod statim miserabiliter ipse rerum declarauit euentus, quia is, quem procuratorem reliquerat, ebrius in refectorio super cenam duos de fratribus cultello ³ percussit, atque ab eis est incontinenti pertica, quam casus obtulit, interfectus.

Quo facto ueterum criminum renouata memoria, ab omnibus omnia quasi sub unum reducebantur aspectum, omnesque publice existimationis et fame iudicio condempnati sunt, quia nullus erat ⁴ quem nocentem non fecisset operatio uel consensus. Itaque eiciendos omnes plerique dixerunt, ⁵ et personas noui ordinis penitus inducendas, ut et in istos uindicaret eiectio, et ordinis obseruantiam ⁶ nouorum institutio restauraret. Porro ego, ⁷ eiectis interfectoribus, quia sic tam ratio quam metus potentie secularis exegit, ad momentum que michi uisa sunt disponenda disposui, nec enim quicquam perpetuum constitui poterat, cum de nullo eorum satis bene uel fama uel conscientia responderet. Feci tamen quod potui, donec fortiore consilio possit omnis plantatio, quam pater celestis non plantauit, auelli. Vestris hoc reseruatur manibus, uestris erit uiribus adimplendum, ⁸ quia ei, quod radices altius egit, manus non preualent imbecilles. ⁹ Super quo, si ad communia totius | fere

¹ mereantur, E ² om, A, inserted, D² ³ cutello, C³

⁴ om, C³ ⁵ duxerunt uel dixerunt, E.

⁶ conseruantiam, C³ ⁷ om, C³ ⁸ adimplendum uir, C³

⁹ End of the passage repeated in ep no 49, see p 82, n 4.

regionis uota respicitis, hu, quos ad perpetuam dissolutionem par conuictus alternique consensus gratia federauit, segregandi sunt, et sigillatim per regularia monasteria dispergendi, ut occasionem peccandi, quam de prauae familiaritatis consortio quesierunt, apud ignotos de diuisione et diuersitate conuersionis amittant. Commune uotum est, ipsique etiam principi complaceret, in regulares canonicos monasterium transformari, ut ipsa species ordinis innouata plenius omnem possit tollere uetustatem, et cetera exempli seueritate monasteria terreantur.

It is the common wish that the guilty should be segregated in other houses, and many, including the king, are in favour of refounding the house for canons-regular.

Sunt enim aliqua,¹ quorum in tantam dissolutio prorupit audaciam, ut confusionem suam deprehensa etiam non agnoscat iniquitas, sed induratis frontibus semper obstinatio conualescit. Sic autem locus ille in statum dignioris ordinis² exurgeret, et ubique semper quasi presens esse apostolica seueritas³ crederetur. Preterea provinciam nostram frequentibus monasteriis, ipsisque nobilibus, certum est habundare, canonicas regulares paucas habet, ipsasque pauperrimas,⁴ adeo ut ad querendum ordinem illum plerumque nostrates oporteat ad regiones extraneas demigrare. Bonum itaque plerisque uideretur, si paucitas monachorum dissoluta in multitudinem regularium excresceret clericorum, et collocatis utiliter eis, qui ab institutione materna descuissae noscuntur, ceteri materno possent gremio contineri, ne tanquam ablactati ad ignotarum matrum seueriores depellantur amplexus. Siquidem hoc facto in nocentes utilis undicta procedet, quae, sublata corporibus peccandi licentia, totum ad salutem conferet animarum, et ad consecranda nouelle plantationis auspicia proniora fauoris publici uota concurrent.

Advantages.

48. To Herbert, abbot of Grestain.^b

[May 1166] D^a; E, C^a.

l(iiiij). Ad abbatem Gristanensem⁴

Quot scandala, quae detrimenta domui tue ex causa absentiarum⁵ fo 56^a.
fo. 57.

¹ aliqui, E ² ord dig., E. ³ seu apost., E.

⁴ Arnulfus, dei gratia Lexouiensis episcopus, dilecto fratri Herberto, abbati Gristanensi, salutem, C^a

⁵ absen|sentiarum, D^a

^a There were about a dozen in the province, and, of these, only Ste Barbe-en-Auge in the diocese of Lisieux is well known

^b See note to ep no 45

Warning that he
must abandon
his wanderings
and return to
his duty
See p. 88, line 14.

2 June
(1166)

tuarum prouenerint, tua fraternitas non ignorat Super quo cum rem ad nostram certum sit diligentiam pertinere, precepimus te uagos cohibere discursus, et debitas super gregem tibi commis[s]um uigilias uigilare; nec ad remotas disc[ed]ere¹ regiones, nisi prius disposita domo personas nobis assignasses idoneas, que curam domus interim gerere possent, eique in spiritualibus et temporalibus utiliter prouidere. Tu uero, neglecta episcopalis auctoritate mandati, immo tua et animarum tibi commissarum salute postposita, sine nostra consciencia discessisti, nemine domi relicto, cuius res aut prouidentia dirigi posset aut diligentia gubernari. Vnde, sicut ad tuam credimus noticiam peruenisse, tot in eodem loco postmodum probra commissa sunt, ut et regionem nostram scandalizatam esse constet, et monasterium turpiter infamatum Per presentia itaque tibi scripta mandamus, ut infra² uicesimam diem post acceptionem presentium litterarum, remota omni occasione, redeas, nisi aut maris inclementia aut corporali, quod absit, fueris infirmitate detentus Alioquin ex ea die ab officio altaris et introitu omnium ecclesiarum, ea, qua tibi premunemus, te noueris auctoritate suspensum³

49. To Pope Alexander III.^a

C^a

[Autumn 1166.]

fo 54.

The wickedness
of Herbert,
abbot of
Grestain.

Domino pape *Lexouensis* [episcopus].

Arripuit iter eundi ad uos, sicut dicitur, abbas quidam noster monasterii scilicet Gristanensis, homo dissolutus et mendax, qui ordinem monasticum⁴ nec in persona sua unquam obseruare uoluerit, nec ad eius obseruationem alios curauerit informare. Mirabile est in eo, quod excedentem eius audatiam manifeste dissolutionis et inutilitatis conscientia non refrenat, sed tanto semper insurgit audatior, quanto sepius impunitus euasit. Siquidem clamosa pertinacia et fallatibus querimoniis et quibusdam aliis

¹ dis[cere], D²; discedere, C³, (A), discurrere, E

² add diem dominice ascensionis, C³. ³ add Valete, C³

⁴ monasterium, MS

^a See p 81, n c Part of a letter is inserted in this epistle which occurs in all the MSS (no 47) If this longer version is in the form in which it was sent to the pope, the insertion is made to give additional incidents, although it is in part redundant.

modis maioris potentie ¹ fauore quesito, manum presidentis eludit, ut liberum nobis non sit secundum formam in episcopalibus iusticiis operari, sed ad sustinendos ueteres et nouos inuiti coartamur abusus. Timeo ne propter tot enormitates et tantos alibi non auditos excessus in me motus seueritatis apostolice conuertatur, quod, ea qualibet necessitate cogente, sustinui, sed licet minus efficaciter laboraui, sepius et aliqua usque ad experientiam uestram, si memoria retinetis, studiose perduxì, que uestra nimirum auctoritate correcta sunt et punita. Quia uero nisi uirtute uestre maiestatis ad ordinem tanta non potest reuocari peruersitas, oportet ut rerum ueritas uobis plenius innotescat, ideoque quanta possum supplicatione deosco, ut modicum tempus michi zelus uestre sanctitatis indulgeat, et aures, que publicis utilitatibus debentur, inclinet, presertim cum epistole quantitas iure ualeat, iterato tociens publice concertationis litigio, compendiosior estimari.

Predictum itaque monasterium aliquando *suauitatis . . . preu-*
lent imbecilles.

Iterum abbatem reuocaui ab Anglia, et renitentem, indicta necessitate, compulsi remeare, ut in reliquum monasterio posset, adhibita maiore diligentia, prouideri. Ad quod sane religiosas et uenerabiles mecum personas adhibui, earumque consilio ei secundum regulam beati Benedicti formam disponende domus et regende prescripsi, iniuncto nimirum in uirtute obedientie ne in delectam sibi Angliam redire p[re]sumeret, aut longinquus auolaret, donec, per domesticos aut accitos extrinsecus religiosos fratres distributis offitiis, status monasterii reformaretur ad ordinem, et intra terminos professionis | sue solitos excedere propensior custodia contineret. Quo sine facto, *fo 55.* ego ei licentiam caritate debita relaxarem eundi quocumque eum necessitas traheret, aut utilitas monasterii deuocaret. Ipse autem mandato nostro magis insolenter quam humiliter accepto, post paucos dies sine conscientia mea renaugauit in Angliam, postpositis ² scilicet omnibus, que, secundum debitum offitii sui et mandati nostri reuerentiam, priusquam abscederet debuerat ordinasse.

Porro his, qui relictì sunt, de impunitate creuit audacia, et desiderata liberius effluendi refulsit occasio, iamque nec in capitulo disciplina, nec intra claustra domestica constituta silentia seruabantur, nec debita diuinis offitiis frequentia uel reuerentia prestabatur. Non eos hostia claustrì, non fores nouissime continebant, sed trui-

Ep no. 47,
p 82, line 15
to p 84, last line
He was recalled
from England
Ep no 46
Cf p 84, line 8.

But fled again
to England
before reforms
were made
Cf p. 84, line 13.

The crimes of
the monks,

¹ poten|tentie, MS
L.A.L.

² expositis, first hand
M

tim sedere per compita, per tabernas commessari, alienis inuigilare cubilibus adulterisque ceperunt, et diuersorum generum criminibus infamari. Die festo, cum eis in refectorio unum, debilius quam in taberna haurire consueuerant, offer[r]etur, omnes preter ⁱⁱⁱ^{or} senes uelut agmine facto protinus abscesserunt, et, funibus quibus campane monasterii trahebantur ablatis, clausisque foribus, diuinis offitiis per dies aliquot silentium indixerunt, donec eius caupo unum, quod adeo affectabant, monasterii silentis miseratus infudit.

Cumque hec et similia ad noticiam nostram tam officialium nostrorum quam relatione publica peruenissent, ego aliquot eorum, quos scilicet precipuos actores iniquitatis esse constabat, ad monasteria religiosa transuexi, sicque perter[r]itis pluribus, bonis, si qui erant, optate requiei tranquillitas arrisit

Abbati itaque semel et iterum reuocato de Anglia, cum uenire differret, diem quasi peremptoria necessitate prefixi, intra quam, de inobedientia et conte[m]ptu et monasterii quam induxerat dissolutione responsurus, adesset, uel exinde suspensum se sciret ab altaris offitio, nisi eum uel egritudo uel maris inclementia detineret. Ipse uero nec ad diem uenit, nec sententiam suspensionis uoluit obseruare, sed, aliquandiu demoratus, nouissime cum uenisset iuxta parietem nostrum per xl. dies et eo amplius constitit, nec aliquando nostro se conspectui presentauit. Ceterum quesuit a principe, quesuit ab archiepiscopo, quesuit ab omni parte subsidium, sed nemo prorsus adiutor inuentus est, omnesque notoriam eius uecordiam pari iudicio repulerunt. Desperatus igitur, cum animus natura simul et usu contumax humiliari non nosset, ut periculum imminens deuitaret ad tempus, ad kalendas decimi mensis uestram audientiam appellauit. Continui manum, et, licet fortassis obseruanda non esset, appellationi reuerentiam detuli, ipsumque proprio in omnibus arbitrio relaxaui.

Interim, quod silentio preterire non possumus, nec audemus, quidam sacerdos noster et subdiaconus, qui a nobis ob constituendas fraternitates ad reedificationem ecclesie nostre, quam a fundamentis incepimus, mittebantur,^a nouissimas fores predictae domus hora prandii causa requirende caritatis ingressi sunt, ipsisque a monacho quodam, maiore scilicet procuratore domus, et a portario uolente manus illate sunt, grauibisque affecti iniuriis, in luto, quod sine rubore et amantudine dicere non possumus, conuoluti. Vocatus igitur ad satisfaciendum monachus, nec uenire uoluit, nec ab abbate

some of whom
he has banished
to other convents.
Cf. p. 84, line 28.

The abbot
recalled
Ep. no 48

He returned
finally, but is
contumacious,

and has
appealed

The ill-treatment
of Arnulf's
collectors for
the cathedral
fabric by the
procurator,

who is
contumacious

^a See above, pp. xlvii, seqq

permissus est, ipsumque in anathematis sententiam ipso facto commississe contumacia manifesta conuicit Denunciauimus publice, et sententiam ipsam uniuersis fratribus fecimus indicari, ut ab ipsius communione, sicut ecclesiastica decreuit institutio, precauerent

Abbas uero uictoriam sibi in hoc, sicut in aliis, de inobedientia compromittens, ipsum in conuentu publice missas facere et tam fo 55^r pollutis quam cruentis manibus sacrosancta misteria contrectare [*? permissit*] Dolui plurimum totum per uerendum insulsi hominis in reatum excommunicationis deuolutum esse collegium, et ecclesiam dei in synagogam Sathane ipsius temeraria malign[is]ate conuersam Accessi igitur ad monasterium non uocatus, adhibitis mecum religiosis abbatibus et aliis uenerabilibus personis, et, cum abbas monachos aliquandiu nostro conspectui prohibuisset offerri, presentes tandem, ut resipiscerent, cum omni caritate commonui paratum me benignius ignoscere quod fortassis fuerat de simplicitate commissum: culpam facilem in crimen excrescere, si differrent, si simplicitas in contumaciam uerteretur ipsos ex hoc nunc ignorantiam allegare non posse, cum eis iam pridem publica fuisset denuntiatione predictum, et nunc episcopali testimonio confirmatum nec licere eis iam sub ea dampnatione uel ecclesiam ingredi, uel diuina officia celebrare ipsos enim in se dictasse sententiam, et eam in iure tamquam iudicatos propria confessione firmasse, ipsosque notorio crimine tamquam ordine iudiciario condemnari Rogauit diligentius qui rogari debueram, supplicauit cui potius fuerat supplicandum, iamque redituri facile uidebantur, sed nullus ab abbate permissus est, licet ipse penitus nichil rationis afferret, sed, pertinaciter in stolida quadam obstinatione consistens, nec consiliis uenerabilium personarum adquiescere uoluit, et ad beneficium absolutionis accipiendum, quod quasi ultro eis offerebatur, scilicet si illud cum penitentia et humilitate requirerent, accedere recusauit

Arnulf visited,
but was
unheeded.

Nouissime cum causa etiam ad noticiam principis ascendisset, motus est, et, improbata peruersitate eius, monuit eum archiepiscopi iudicio et coepiscoporum nostrorum consiliis assentire. Ipse uero apud eos, quibus rerum ueritas innotuit, de causa desperans, appellationis sue fiducia[m] renuit experiri, et uniuersum collegium ab ingressu monasterii et diuinorum officiorum celebratione per tres continuos menses metu predicti anathematis sua uoluntate suspendit. Quod sane non de humilitate uel obedientia factum est, sed ut de austeritate mea silentium ecclesie procedere crederetur, quod de ipsius impenitente contumacia procedebat.

The king
intervened

The abbot withdrew his appeal and prevented the monks from celebrating

Postmodum de itinere remisso nuntio, eos ecclesie, non petita

Later he renewed the services, although all were excommunicate

anathematis, in quo tam ipse quam illi publice commiserant, absolute, restituit, et eos tam missas facere, quam alia quelibet exhibere sacramenta precepit. Mirati sunt qui uiderunt, nec huiusmodi opera eius ei iam ad audaciam sed ad insaniam reputant, cum ipse nichil priuilegi, nichil prorsus rationis alleget, sed se de episcopatu et iurisdictione nostra esse et omnem¹ se debere nobis obedientiam profitetur.

Request for aid

Placeat² itaque uobis audire et manum adhibere uirtutis, quia, eo incumbente, nec ordo monasticus ibi reparari poterit, neque temporalia restaurari. Fidem autem indubitatam omnibus adhibete que scribo, quia ego instar sacrilegi maius reputo uel in dolo scribere uobis, uel uestram circumuenire qualibet astutia sanctitatem. Abbatem uero ad uos festinare noueritis, quia, nescio quo presensit iuditio, me per Rodbertum de Ardena,^a archidiaconum nostrum, uestre sublimitatis accepisse mandatum, ut, adhibito mecum religioso uiro, abbate Mortui Maris,^b eum, si inutilis appareret, non obstante frustatorie appellationis subterfugio, remouerem. Fugit igitur a facie nostra, nec euentum mandati uestri homo, sibi male conscius, sustinet expectare, quia que de eo dicuntur manifesta sunt, adeo ut ipse infitiri non possit, quod nec ulla conditio, nec aliquis etiam sexus ignorat.

The abbot is hastening to the pope, because Arnulf has papal authority to depose him
fo. 56.

Arnulf returns the papal rescript as a reminder of the action necessary.

Porro rescriptum litterarum uestrarum discretioni uestre censui remittendum, ut, recognito quod a uobis actum est, firmiter in eo uestra sapientia perseueret, atque aliquem uel aliquos, qui tamen zelum ordinis habeant et uirtutem ad exequendum, si uobis ita uisum fuerit, adiungatis.^c

50. To Laurence, abbot of Westminster.^d

D²; E, A

[? c. 1166]

fo. 50.

fo. 50^v.

Thanks him for his kindness to his friend Simon

xlv. Ad Laurentium, Wes[t]monasterii abbatem³

Pro Simone nostro gratias uestre refero caritati, quia ipsum innate uobis bonitatis oculo respexistis, ipsique beneficium non temporale,

¹ omnen, MS

² Placet, first hand

³ Abb West, E, A

^a Arnulf was using him as a messenger in 1164 (*Materials*, v, 147)

^b Geoffrey

^c Nevertheless, Herbert was apparently able to keep his position until his death in 1178 (Torigni, p 280, and see p 176, note b).

^d 1158 (?)—11 April 1173 (E. H. Pearce, *Monks of Westminster*, p 44).

sed in longiora duraturum tempora prouida munificentia prestitistis Magnum est quod ad horam subuenit indigenti; maius quod in dies annosque renascitur, quod ut sepius conferat, frequenti reuolutione denuo reformatur. Sane beneficium hoc non minuitur tempore, sed augetur, prouentusque perseuerantiam reduiue conseruat industria largitatis. Multa simplicem donationem commoda prosequuntur, tociensque donatum iri uidebitur, quotiens noui redeuntium fructuum manipuli congerentur. Maius etiam est ius aliquod donasse quam corpus, quoniam iura frequenti perceptione subnixa sunt, simplici uero traditione cuiuslibet corporis donatio consummatur. Ius dedistis, ne citius munificentie uestre gratia preteriret, ut sicut apud uos uirtutis non tepescit affectio, ita prorogata in perpetuum liberalitatis uestre beneficia conualerent. Preterea liberalitati prudentia discretionis accessit, quoniam ei dedistis, cuius uobis honestas, cuius industria, cuius sedulitas officiosa complacuit. Nec ignote persone, nec inutili contulistis, sed ei,¹ cuius merita precesserant et sequentur, qui uobis animo et corpore ad cumulum gratiarum referat actiones, ut iure debeatis de exteriori fructu et conscientie testimonio gloriari. Ego tamen impensum michi potius reputo² quod fecistis, quia quod prius differebatur, ad prima statim intercessionis mee uerba concessum est, ut meam specialiter ex eo uideremini gratiam affectasse. Sane maior extitit in exhibendo donatoris hilaritas, quam in accipiendo desiderium postulantis. Pulchrum sane et predicandum beneficium, nulla suspensum dilatione, nullis redemptum precibus, nullis meritis comparatum! Nichil in eo fuit quod beneficii minueret maiestatem. Preuenistis me, qui omnes occasiones | uenari decreueram, ut uos, *fo 5r.* impenso quolibet liberaliter officio, preuenirem. Igitur debitorem me magnificencia uestra constituit, ut ex hoc nunc soluere debeam, non donare, quia quod bene merenti rependitur, illustrari donationis nomine non meretur^a

¹ *om* sed ei, *A*; *inserted*, *D*²

² *Rep* mi. pot., *A*; *transposed*, *D*²; *poc* mi *rep*, *E*.

^a *Donationis*. *meretur* is inserted in a charter hand. For the importance of this, see above, p. lxxiv

51. To Henry de Sully, abbot of Fécamp.^aD^a, E, A

[? c 1166.]

fo 58.

Ingeniously
requests a horse
Cf ep. no. 52

lv(j) Ad Henricum, Fiscanensem abbatem

Amici nostri, qui diebus istis Ierosolimam profecti sunt, ex equite meo peditem reddiderunt.¹ Et quia indignum est hominem opinionis mee per manus humilium in equitem reformari, in uestram id duxi gloriam conferendum, quem non solum equestris ordinis dignitas, sed etiam regu sanguinis excellentia sullimauit Hoc etiam eo studiosius uestris consui meritis reseruandum, quia eos, quibus tribuit, uestra reddit ² industria cautiore, cum ita uiris prudentibus amicam parsimoniam in ipsa largiendi liberalitate seruetis, ut et amicus semper apud uos possit inuenire quod placeat, et uobis oportuna non desit materia largiendi Inde est quod apud uos utiliter et doctrina queritur et prouentus, ut et diciores copia faciat, et prudentia doctiores Sic enim uestra operatur inter utrumque discretio, ut, quod uirtutis est utrinque reducens, quod uici est separet ac repellat, ne uel sobrietatem tollat effusio, uel parcitas quandoque manus contrahat affluentes Si tamen in alterutro peccandum est, malum facilis quam difficilis, promptior aliquando quam tardior inueniri

The qualities
and defects of
gift horses are
attributed to
their donors.

Porro inter omnia que donantur, equus est id quod donatorem pluribus occasionibus reddit obnoxium, quia, si quid a laude minus est, huius, quibus datur, statim culpe donatoris attribuunt, rei que imperfectionem, licet de inopia quandoque ³ proueniat, imperfectioni uoluntatis ascribunt Si durius ambulat, concussionis arguunt donatorem, seque ruine destinatos predicant, si pes unquam fortuitum cespitem retusus offendat. Si durus est, aiunt ipsum de ueteri domino traxisse duritiam, qui amicos segnius audire consueuerit, quam equus calcaribus obedire. Si minus elegantis forme, si minus habeat uenustatis, asserunt rem informem non satis dignitati donatoris uel donatarii conuenire Interea si quid imprecandum est, non | equo, sed auctori potius imprecantur, qui tot scandalis iniuriam magis irrogasse uideatur, quam beneficium contulisse. Palam esse nolle eum a se quicquam ulterius implorari, qui id dederit, quod negasse satius fuerat, quam adiuncto maleficio prestitisse Certum

fo 58^v¹ reliquerunt uel reddiderunt, E² reddidit, E³ om, E.^a See above, p 28, note b

est etiam quosdam non tantum calumpniatores, sed ingratos etiam inueniri, falsa rei donate uitia confingentes, ut omni gratiarum debito uideantur absolui. Quisquis tamen accipit, ipsa statim susceptione redditur obligatus, et, si penes eum res donata resederit, alleganti uitia ratio quasi cuiusdam legitime prescriptionis occurrit. Siquidem in rebus donatis nec quanto minoris, nec redibitoria locum habet, sed omnem actionem exceptio spontanee liberalitatis elidit. Quod si aliena bene merentibus gratia non respondet, merces tamen sua uirtuti non deerit, que, potius interioris fructus lucra considerans, satis habet simpliciter apud se de bono felicitis conscientie testimonio gloriari. Nec enim subiecta est externe dispositionis arbitrio, sed, in sua proprie puritatis maiestate consistens, ab indignioribus premia non inquit,¹ ita tamen ut neque ex eis honeste prouenientia respuat, nec pro desiderio eorum uel usu, si qua nouit, potiora dimittat. Quod si quem fructus trahit exterior, is, sicut ait sapiens ille, non potest nisi similem materie sperare sententiam, quoniam fortuitis intentus non nisi fortuitos experietur euentus

52. To Richard of Ilchester, archdeacon of Poitiers.^a

[c. 1166] D¹; E, A.

xliij. Ad Ricardum, Pictauensem archidiaconum.

fo. 49^v

Quod dilectio uestra propiciam senectutis mee | sollicitudinem
gerat, multis claret indicus, eoque maxime quod utilia debilitati
mee tanto tamque liberali studio subsidia prouidetis. Siquidem ad
uarios labores frequens me trahit occasio, nec fidem excusationi
malitia temporis adhibet,² sed quod infirmitatis est desidiam reputat
aut figmentum; adeo ut sepius inpotentiam ipsam cogatur expug-
nare necessitas, miserisque conatibus sepulte uirtutis instaurare
defectum. Perniciosum autem est ualitudinem infestare laboribus,
ne forte uexatio uim doloris augeat, et nouum aliquod egritudo de
concussionis iniuria contrahat incrementum. Inuenit igitur gratia

fo. 50.
Thanks him for
succouring his
old age

¹ requirit, E

² exhibet, E

^a Non-resident archdeacon, 1162/3-1173, bishop of Winchester. For his career see *DNB*, xlviii, 194, and F. M. Powicke, *The loss of Normandy* (Manchester, 1913), pp. 73-5. He was in Normandy in 1166 (Eyton).

and providing
two horses
Cf epp nos.
51 and 129

Appreciation of
the horses

uestra subsidium senectuti, laborique remedium, quo tam debile corpus uegetari debeat, quam uexationum instantia temperari

Siquidem duos equos a uobis exactiore diligentia perquisitos accepi, quos ipsa statim pulcritudo primo commendauit aspectu, postmodum omni uicio mundos inspectio diligentior approbavit. Feruntur plane, neque sessorem qualibet inequalitate concutiunt, nec celeritatem retardat equalitas, neque pes aliquo unquam¹ cespite retusus offendit. Non est opus eos freno cohibere, uel urgere calcaribus, quia tanta facilitate cuiuslibet mancipantur obsequio, ut omnem sessoris explorasse uideantur affectum. Denique tanta progressus eorum suauitate procedit, ut qui insidet non incedere, sed labi, nec se tam equo uehi, quam quasi nauicula quadam subuehi uerius arbitretur. Porro uarietas ipsa ad augmentum quoque uoluptatis accedit, quia tedium idemnitatis nouitate distinguitur, nec eidem selle semper inherere necesse est, sed modo huic, modo alteri quantum libuerit insidere. Uidentur michi uirtutem pristinam patientiam pristinam reddidisse, iuniorumque discursus tanta leuitate consector, ut membra nequaquam contineri, sed² potius suauis motu sentiam uegetari. Reddidistis me michi, immo eis qui meo quondam fruebantur, sed modo fungebantur³ obsequio, et, de claustris domesticis clementer eductum, ad solita publice congratulationis gaudia reduxistis

53. To Gilbert, abbot of Cîteaux.^a

D^a, E, A, Z^b

[c. 1167]

fo. 47

xlj. Ad abbatem Cisterciensem et fratres eius⁴

Confectus senio, et aliquarum egritudinum grauatus accessu,⁵ ad

¹ un al, E.

² add etiam, E

³ altered to funguntur, A

⁴ Venerabili et dilecto patri abbati Cisterciensi, A, dei gratia Lex' episc', salutem, Z; om et fratres eius, A

⁵ accessit, Z

^a 1163-7, an Englishman, one-time abbot of Ourscamp, which was the mother house of Mortemer. See above, p xlv

^b There are two versions of this letter. The longer, but very inaccurate version, which probably represents the unedited state, occurs in a seventeenth-century St Victor, Paris, letter-book, MS Paris, B N., latin 14615, ff. 306^a-8 (see A. Luchaire's 'Études sur quelques mss. de Rome et de Paris', in *Bibl. de la fac. des lettres, Univ. Paris* (1899), and 'Note additionnelle aux études', *ibid.* (1901). It is here collated as Z, and, where the texts differ widely, the seventeenth-century version is given in the right-hand column.

medicine salutare remedium confugere, et confracta laboribus membra neccessaria requie subleuare constitui. Siquidem ¹ in permittim meam, ueluti coniurata, ² conueniunt debilitas, infirmitas et senectus, michique tot incommodorum instantia fidutiam uite longioris abrumpit. ³ Accedit extrinsecus ⁴ negotiorum, quibus distrahor, importuna uexatio, que miserabiliter anhelantem uel ad momentum etiam respirare non sinit. Siquidem sepius ad regales cum ceteris trahor angarias, eorumque, quibus deesse non possum, frequentibus infestor iniuriis, ⁵ media omnia interim tot tantisque laboribus sumptibusque constrata sunt, ut nec ad tolerantiam corpus sufficiat, nec ad impendium facultates

The weakness of his health and the demands of royal business

Porro si hec ⁶ salutis etiam non obsisterent ⁷ animarum, uiro tamen ⁸ bono tolerabilis uideretur, ⁹ si detrimenta presentium ad prouentum proficerent eternorum. Sed hominum semper procedente ¹⁰ malitia, et in deterius diebus singulis | excedente, cum ¹¹ bona, tum corpora, tum etiam ¹² anime simili ¹³ ruina pariter inuoluuntur, et formidabili plerumque consummantur ¹⁴ euentu. Quia ¹⁵ igitur sapientis est casus huiusmodi ¹⁶ sagaci prouidentia preuenire, ¹⁷ oportunitas loci michi fuerat exquirenda, ¹⁸ ubi quietem meam nec causarum tumultus infestet, nec incursus multitudinis interpellat, sed exemplo meliore semper honestatis studia conualescant, et ad uere uirtutis opera omnis possit occasio deseruire.

make him wish to retire.

fo 47^v.

Super quo, cum ad multa loca multorum precibus et desideriis ¹⁹ inuitarer, quidam locus ordinis uestri, qui dicitur Mortui Maris, inter cuncta complacuit, quia ²⁰ michi usus est multis commoditatibus oportunus, siquidem de antiqua familiaritate plurima sumus inuicem caritate coniuncti, mutuamque gratiam uetus noticia alterna operum exhibitione firmauit. ²¹ Itaque extra terminos, intra quos secundum ordinem uestrum artioris abstinentie decreta seruantur,

He has chosen the abbey of Mortemer,

¹ Si quae, Z. ² coniurata, Z. ³ abrumpunt, Z. ⁴ ad hoc, Z.

⁵ in uitus, Z. ⁶ hac, Z. ⁷ obsistes, Z.

⁸ om, A, Z, inserted, D²

⁹ add solum, Z, add scilicet, A, scilicet expunged, D²

¹⁰ praecedente, Z. ¹¹ tum, E, Z. ¹² et, Z; et inserted, A

¹³ scilicet, Z. ¹⁴ consumantur, Z, E. ¹⁵ Q and space, Z

¹⁶ eiusmodi, A, eiusdemmodi, Z. ¹⁷ peruenire, Z. ¹⁸ exquirenda, Z

¹⁹ desid. et prec, Z. ²⁰ quo, Z. ²¹ om, leaving space, Z

^a The abbot would be Geoffrey. Arnulf was certainly a friend of the next abbot, Richard de Blossville. For this and the abbey of Mortemer, see ep no 117 and note.

where he has
built himself
suitable lodgings

Z.
fo 307^r

The king com-
plains that the
abbot of Cîteaux
has encroached
on his land

domum ¹ michi moderato ² sumptu ³ statui construendam, ⁴ cuius sobria ⁵ neccessarius usibus amplitudo sufficiat, mensuram tamen regularis edificii non excedat Sane exclusi erimus, commeatu ⁶ tamen ⁷ familiari tam provide quam clementer ⁸ indulto, ut a transgressione regularis obseruantie seueritas arceat, et tamen ab ecclesia, sanctisque fratrum colloquiis misericordia ⁹ non excludat

Porro per exteriora nobis nullus reseruatus ¹⁰ ingressus est, ne cui ¹¹ per portas uestras aliquando contingat inferri, qu[1] a communi institutione differre uideatur, atque ex eo tam fratribus quam hospitibus scandali possit occasio ministrari

Verum area, in qua aedificamus, regis est, ab omni eo, quod uestri iuris est, certis distincta limitibus, eique liberum est sine iniuria uestra eam, tanquam propriam, vel donare cui uoluerit, uel quibus uoluerit vsibus applicare. Miratus quidem est prudentiam uestram fines collatae ab eo uobis amplitudinis excessisse, sibiue de reliquo mouisse in calumniam, et ea, quae ipse in suo disposuerat, impedisse Ego tamen beneficio eius sic uti deuitaueram, ut quasi de uestra uideretur gratia processisse, et pro sola congratulatione uestra omnia in uos largitionis alienae merita conferrentur. Scio plurimam eos de nostra Scio fratres illos plurimam de spe commorationis commoratione nostrae

concepisse leticiam, atque eis utinam inde proueniant ¹² commoda que presumunt, ut scilicet dignus sit expectatione prouentus, et aliquid ¹³ bone opinionum eorum de iudicio nostre preelectionis ¹⁴ accrescat.

Quia uero locum illum nouimus specialius ad uestram sollicitudinem pertinere, propositum nostrum uobis indicandum duximus, rogantes ut et uestre caritati | cumplaceat, sanctoque uestrarum precum suffragio muniamur,

Ad summam rogamus instantius, ut pace uestra beneficio nobis uti liceat alieno, ipsumque beneficium uestrum benigno faciatis assensu, accessusque noster uestrae ¹⁵ quoque caritati cumplaceat,

Z
ff 307^v-8
Request for confirmation.

D^s.
fo. 48.

¹ dotuum, Z. ² mandato, Z ³ add scilicet, A, expunged, D^s
⁴ constituendam, Z. ⁵ om, leaving space, Z ⁶ commeato, Z
⁷ om, Z ⁸ add si uobis ita uideatur, Z ⁹ merita, Z
¹⁰ add est, MS ¹¹ qui, MS ¹² inde utinam perueniant, Z
¹³ aliquid, Z. ¹⁴ pro electione, Z ¹⁵ nostrae, MS

et auctoritas uestra uota sanctorum fratrum exhilaret, et ¹rescripto ² quolibet ³ aut mandato confirmet ⁴

54a. To Pope Alexander III.^a[Summer 1169] C³, M

Uenerando domino et patri suo, Alexandro, catholice ecclesie fo 56 summo pontifici, Arnulfus, Lexouensis ecclesie humilis minister, salutem cum omni debite obedientie et deuotionis affectu ⁵

Personam domini Londoniensis apud excellentiam uestram diligenti- Commendation of the bishop of London
us commendare superuacuum duxi, quia quod publice notum est nec accusatione solempni nec multa commendationis instantia certum est indigere Siquidem plenitudo uirtutis eius et scientie tot apud nos enituit argumentis, tot illustrata suffragis, tot utilitatibus approbata est, ut, quod in multos dignatio diuina distribuit, hoc in ipsum maioris affluentia gratie cumularit. Excedit in eo apud nos omnem comparationis inuidiam cum frugalitatis ⁶ industria, tum prerogatiua scientie, tum religionis integritas, adeo ut neminem ei cuiusquam audeat preferre presumptio, uel cuiusquam prestantioribus meritis merita coequare

Trahitur tamen homo sanctus in causam, et, sermonibus odi The method of his accusers
circumdatus, expugnatur gratis, et inuidie questionibus infestatur Trahitur, inquam, homo sanctus in causam, si tamen causa dicenda

¹ ut, E² rescriptio, Z³ aliquo, E⁴ confirmat, and add Valete, Z ⁵ M, no address, C³⁶ fragilitatis, C³

^a For the contents of the letter, see above, p. xlvii. The letter is found in two forms. This version is given only by C³ and the Bodleian MS e Mus 249, fo 104^v (see Robertson, *Materials*, v. xxiii). It is collated here as M. A longer version appears in all the 2nd edition MSS of Arnulf's letters, and in MSS D² and A (see below, pp. 106, *seqq*). The short version clearly dates from the summer of 1169, but the longer version has an insertion in which events of a later date are mentioned, and the earlier narrative is thrown into the past tense. It seems reasonable to conclude, then, that in December 1170 Arnulf used the same letter that he had sent to the pope on Gilbert's behalf in 1169, altering it here and there, and bringing it up to date by an insertion and by suitable changes of tense. The increment appears as a separate letter in C³, with an indication that the introduction to the shorter form should precede it, but that verbs should be altered into the past tense. This, however, is a faulty reconstruction of the longer version.

est, ubi nullam facit contradictio questionem, ubi sine reo et teste idem actor ¹ et iudex solitariam format de singulari uoluntate sententiam ². Felicem se iste et omni donatum beatitudine iudicaret, si ei iudex suus auditori communis aream impertisset, si citatus uenire, si conuentus respondere, si denique dubium experiri potuisset sententie fatalis euentum. Sed in ipsum de alio regno, de transmarinis partibus, de longinquo scilicet uelud in occultis sagitta transmissa est; et hostis, dum preuideri metuit, gladium protinus capiti nescientis illisit.

His punishment.

Solent patres filiorum delictis uirgam prius adhibere quam baculum, et, si correctio moderata non proficit, seueriora postmodum flagella consumunt. Vtilius fuerat pepercisse persone, in quam se nouerat ³ totam scandalizare prouinciam, quia ad bonum pacis non tam pena unius quam multorum gratia profuisset. Videtur de motu animi magis quam de caritate processisse quod factum est, quia totam se ⁴ protinus ad penam irrogandam potentia presidentis effudit, nichil reseruans in posterum in quo uel dispensare prudentia posset, uel misericordia subuenire. Fuerat fortassis primum ab episcopali suspend[en]dus officio, ab altaris ministerio prohibendus, a liminibus sequestrandus ecclesie, ut contumax nouissime gladio ferretur; nec ⁴ ad perniciem fratris libentius cucurrisset, sed cogi uideretur inuitus. Neque enim salutem hominis uelle credendus est qui festinat ad sanguinem, sed delinquentes ecclesiastica etiam censura premunit, ut scilicet liberentur dilecti, quos preciosi sanguinis redemit effusio, et fugiant a facie arcus, ut in contumaces tantum spicula superbe prouocata descendant.

Even if the punishment was regular, there are extenuating circumstances.

Quod si etiam certum sit transitum litteris et legatis peruium non fuisse, sed omnem uiam legitimis edictis secularis potentie terrore preclusam, delictum tamen alienum innocentie istius preiudicare non debuit, nec ipsi de iure potuit pena, quam non merebatur, infligi. Sane uerum est delusa potestatis astutia sagacitate perferentium aliquas ad ipsum litteras et mandata uenisse, quibus tota diligentia paruit, omnibus scilicet uel denunciatis publice uel effectui

¹ auctor, C³

² se totam, M

³ nouerit, M

⁴ ne, c *expunged*, C³

⁴ Becket excommunicated him on 13 April 1169 (Diceto, i, 333; *Materials*, vi, 558 and 595), and the sentence was delivered at St Paul's on 29 May (*Materials*, vi, 603). For his own view of the sentence, see *Materials*, vi, 595, and for Henry's, *ibid.*, vi, 600. Foliot had anticipated the sentence by appeal (Diceto, i, 333).

debito mancipatis. Porro, si in tanto discrimine rerum consulenda uideretur presidentis auctoritas, nuncius huius ad eum omnis negabatur accessus, nullumque paterne caritatis extabat indicium, ubi enim ¹ ei consilii gratia simul et remedii copia tollebatur. Ad hec nobis, qui rerum ueritatem ex magna parte tam ² experimento quam fidei de proximo relatione cognouimus, licet apud maiestatem uestram de pura testimonium consciencia perhibere, uirum inter ³ fo. 56^r minas alterius potestatis et alterius insidias constitutum, quatenus ad eum peruenire potuit, ecclesiasticis semper preceptionibus obedisse, nec ab initio discordie causam, uel postea fomentum aliquod audacie prestitisse. Ille uero, sicut dictum est, non ^{Disapproval of Becket's action} obseruata causa uel ordine, uirum, cuius laus est in ecclesia, ad scandalum omnium bonorum in facie confudit ecclesie, et animam sanctam amaritudine simul et merore compleuit. Super quo ⁴ et in ^{and trust in the papacy.} omnibus benedictus deus, qui aduersus huiusmodi sanctam Romanam ecclesiam nobis ad solempne refugium et remedium salutare constituit, ut eius scilicet presulatu reducatur ad formam, quod cuiuslibet ⁵ insolentia uel imperitia denigrauit ad culpam.

Pro persona igitur, de qua scribimus, non nostra tantum, sed ^{Plea for justice and mercy.} publica totius regni, immo etiam regnorum, desideria pietatis uestre genibus aduoluuntur, ut secundum datum uobis a deo spiritum iustitiam eius conseruetis illesam, aut, si quid etiam imperfectionis est, oculi uestri uideant equitatem, quia nichil de indulgentie beneficio consequetur, quod non excedentia persone merita recompensent. Et nos quidem ista ad nullius suggillationem, sed ad huius prouentum ⁶ scribenda censuimus, quia et huic apostolica ⁷ poterit gratia prouidere, et aliis nichilominus de eiusdem discretionis et mansuetudinis copia subuenire.

Dominus personam uestram ecclesie sue per tempora multa conseruet incolumem ⁸

¹ om, M. ² om, M ³ uestro, M ⁴ om, M ⁵ om, C³

⁶ prouectum *ouer* prouendum, C³ ⁷ apost huic, M

⁸ incolumen, M, om Dominus. incolumem, C³

Letter 54b follows letter 59.

55. To Pope Alexander III.^a*D*², *E*, *C*³, *R*

[September 1169.]

fo 56

liij. Ad eundem ¹

Meeting of the
king and the
papal legates
Cf *Materials*, vii,
85-8

fo 56^v

Henry's con-
cessions to
Becket

Absolutions by
the legates.

The legates re-
ject the terms

Nuntios et litteras uestras dominus rex Anglorum ² tanto maiore leticia et alacritate suscepit, quanto maiorem eis ³ benignitatis uestre gratiam promittere uidebantur ^b Unde petitione uestra de pace Cantuariensis archiepiscopi | et suorum restitutione ⁴ benignius exaudita, eum ad archiepiscopatum suum redire, ipsumque cum omni integritate, qua tenebat quando exiuit, recipere, et deinceps in bona pace et securitate possidere, ad honorem siquidem dei et ecclesie, salua nimirum regni sui pristina dignitate,⁵ concessit ^c

Visum nobis est uerbum hoc nuntius uestris, uris sane prudentibus, placuisse; adeo ⁶ ut eos, qui presentes erant, statim absoluerint, et ad eos absoluendos, qui erant in Anglia, alter eorum, magister scilicet Vivianus, ilico transire, alter citra mare ad executionem conducte pacis consenserint remanere. Postmodum, reuocato consensu, uerbum conseruande in futurum *regie dignitatis* admittere noluerunt, ea, que disposita fuerant, exsequi recusantes; cum archiepiscopi, episcopi, abbates, religiose persone, optimates regni, qui aderant, pro bono tante pacis multis precibus institissent, quoniam in obseruatione regie dignitatis nullatenus uidebatur nobis libertas aut dignitas ecclesiastica pregruari. Siquidem dignitas ecclesiastica regiam

¹ Domino pape Lex, *C*³, Domino papae Alexandro, episcopi et clerus Normanniae, salutem et obedientiam, *R*

² angelorum, *D*², Angliae, *R* ³ s *expunged*, *C*³, ei, *R*

⁴ *add* ecclesiasticarum personarum et optimatum regni sui consilio pro amore uestro, *R* ⁵ *dig* *prist*, *R*

⁶ *For* Visum . adeo, *read* Cum igitur inter dominum regem et nuntios uestros super hoc tractatus prolixior incidisset, in verbo utrimque complacito novissime conuenerunt, ita scilicet, *R*

^a See above, p xlvj When this letter appears in the collections of Becket correspondence (printed Robertson, *Materials*, vii, 89, here collated as *R*), it is ascribed to the bishops and clergy of Normandy This is not in consonant with Arnulf's authorship, and there is no reason to suspect it, although other letters written at this juncture are very similar in content (cf letters of Rotrou of Rouen and Bernard of Nevers, *Materials*, vii, 85-8)

^b Vivian and Gratian were appointed commissioners by the pope about 1 April 1169 (*Materials*, vi, 537)

^c This meeting was at Bur-le-Roi, near Bayeux, on 1 and 2 September 1169. It is stated that Arnulf was present (*Materials*, vii, 70-5).

prouehit potius ¹ quam adimat ² dignitatem, et regalis ³ dignitas Cf p 76
ecclesiasticam conseruare potius consueuit quam tollere libertatem,
etenim quasi quibusdam sibi inuicem complexibus dignitas ecclesi-
astica et regalis occurrunt, cum nec reges salutem sine ecclesia, nec
ecclesia pacem sine protectione regia consequatur.

Genibus itaque pietatis uestre quanta deuotione possumus ⁴ aduo- Plea that small
luti, suppliciter obnixequē deposcimus, ne sapientia uestra quasi points should n
litterarum apices et conceptiones uerborum, potius quam rem ipsam stand in the wa
duxerit amplectenda; ⁵ sed secundum datum a deo uobis ⁶ spiritum of peace
discretionis id agite, ne causa unius in multorum et fere innumera-
bilium perniciem conuertatur, quia ad bonum pacis quandoque magis
proficit mansuetudo gratie quam seueritas discipline ⁷

56. To Prior Robert and the chapter of Bernay.^a

[1169] D², E, C³.

1(v) Ad monachos Bernacenses ⁸

fo 57.

Sicut electionem uestram indulgentiore gratia preuenire curauimus, Complains of a
ita factam, quantum in nobis est, approbamus, et personam electam lack of formalit
plurime dilectionis brachis amplexamur. Quod autem ad assignan- in the presenta-
dam uobis diem benedictionis nuntium destinastis, miror admodum tion of the abbe
quod [ad] ⁹ id, quod per priorem et maiorum personarum numerum elect
competentem fuerat implorandum, personam, ipsamque solam et
sine litteris, nec moribus grauem nec etate, misistis, qui me, benigne
satis et utiliter ad omnia respondentem, superbis non timuit fo 57^v
ir[r]itare sermonibus, nec superba¹⁰ ad magnum animi motum
audacia prouocare Stulto itaque secundum stulticiam suam re-
sponso, quod oportuit, dato, uobis, tanquam dilectis in Christo
fratribus, per proprium nuntium et litteras duximus respondendum,

¹ pot pro, E

² adimit, R

³ regia uel regalis, E

⁴ poss deuot, E, R

⁵ amplectandas, R

⁶ dat uob a deo, C³, R.

⁷ add, Dominus personam uestram ecclesiae suae per tempora multa con-
seruet incolumem, R

⁸ Arnulfus, dei gratia Lexouensis episcopus, dilectis fratribus Roberto
priori totique capitulo Bernacensi, salutem et dei benedictionem, C³

⁹ om, D², C³

¹⁰ superbia, C³

^a Abbot Richard I of this Benedictine abbey in the diocese of Lisieux and
department of Eure, died in 1169 (Torgny, p 242), and his successor seems to
have been a certain Joscelin (G C)

ne quis uos, quod absit, de benignitate et gratia nostra fallaci malignitate desperare compellat.

Arnulf will meet
the electors again
at Lisieux

Sciatis itaque me infra decimum aut duodecim[um] diem ¹ ad ecclesiam nostram, uolente domino, rediturum, et tunc priorem ad nos cum numero fratrum competente et electa persona uenire uolumus, ut per eos ² nobis, sicut ordo canonicus exigit, representetur electio, et auctoritatis nostre munimine roboretur. Tunc, ³ communicato nimirum uestro nostrorumque consilio, ad benedictionem dies oportunus poterit assignari, et nos, si quid obstaculi uidebitur apparere, modis omnibus amouere curabimus, et dare suum negotio, preeunte ⁴ semper diuina gratia, complementum

57. To Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury.

C³.

[December 1170]

fo. 60.

Venerabili domino et patri suo, Thome, dei gratia Cantuariensi [archiepiscopo], Arnulfus, Lexouiensis ecclesie humilis minister, salutem, et debitam cum plurima deuotione reuerentiam

Plea for the
recovery of Mr.
Eberhard's pre-
ferment, lost
during the exile.

Lator presentium, magister Errardus, ^a cum ex concessione abbatis Beccensis, et officialis uestri, qui tunc presidebat, donatione, ecclesiam de Sautemonde, ^b ut asserit, percepisset, exili uestri

¹ add me, C³

² add ut, C³

³ add autem, C³

⁴ preeunte, D²

^a As there is one corruption of a proper name in this letter (see next note), it is conceivable that *Errardus* may also be wrong. If *Edwardus* could be read, there is the possibility that it refers to Edward Grim, who was thus present at the martyrdom of Bosham, when mentioning him among the *eruditi*, says, 'Quem hic per se ab aliis seorsum pono, quia ipse etsi de provincia, de archipraesulis tamen proprio familia non erat sed causa hic ad archipraesulem suum, nuper tunc reuersum ab exilio, visendum uenerat' (*Materials*, iii, 529). For biographical details, see *Materials*, ii, xlv *seqq.*, Bosham, *ibid.*, iii, 498, Fitz Stephen, *ibid.*, iii, 139, and *ibid.* and Anon. i, *Materials*, iv, 76 and 77, where he is called Mr. Edward.

^b The church must be in the diocese of Canterbury, but the name is obviously corrupt. Saltwood, Kent, *Saltewode*, might easily be read as *Sautemonde* by a scribe unfamiliar with English place names, and the patronage of that church seems to have been in the hands of Bec in the twelfth century. Porée (*Histoire de l'abbaye du Bec* (Evreux, 1901), i, 469-70) says that the church of Saltwood was granted with its chapels, tithes and lands to Bec, and especially to the daughter priory of St. Philbert, by Hugh de Montfort, shortly after the foundation of the priory. The grant was confirmed by Archbishop Ralph

tempore prauorum quorundam hominum uolencia spoliatum et eiectum fuisse miserabiliter lamentatur Quoniam ergo particeps fuit tribulationis, precibus nostris coadiuuantibus, particeps desiderat esse consolationis, quamuis calamitatem meam¹ credamus apud clementiam uestram per se posse facillime quod postulat impetrare

58. To William, archbishop of Sens.^a

[End of 1170.] C².

Uenerabili domino suo, *Willelmo*, dei gratia Senonensi archiepiscopo et apostolice sedis legato, *Arnulfus*, *Lexouiensis* ecclesie humilis minister, salutem, et debitam cum plurima deuocione reuerenciam

Lator presentium, homo noster, cum occasione belli, nouiter ut dicitur inter reges orti,^b sibi de persona bonisque suis metueret, ad refugium salutare in ecclesiam quandam Carnotensis episcopatus, ut asserit, se recepit Cumque quod ad personam pertinet, ecclesie beneficio liber exisset, bonorum tamen omnium, que secum habuerat, sustinuit detrimentum, cum pari ratione ad quam confugerat ecclesia tam in bonis quam in persona indemnem prestare debuisset

The bearer was despoiled of goods when he took sanctuary during the war.

¹ for eam

(1114-22), by Archbishop Theobald and by Kings Henry I and Henry II The advowson must almost certainly have been included in this general grant of the church In the thirteenth century, however, the archbishop of Canterbury was patron (cf *Registrum Epist f Peckham, Arch Cant* (Rolls Series), III, 1014), and the change seems to be the result of an agreement made between Stephen Langton and the abbey, in which the archbishop declares that the priory of St Philbert is to receive a pension from the church of Saltwood, and that the archbishop is to have the advowson (Inspeximus by Pecham of an inspeximus by Kilwardby of the agreement, calendared, *ibid*, III, 1065; charter of Langton, transcribed by Miss K Major from Lambeth Chartae Misc XI, no 41, in an unpublished Oxford B Litt thesis on the Acta of Stephen Langton, document 103).

^a William of the White Hands, son of Theobald, count of Blois and Champagne, and brother-in-law of Louis VII, king of France; 1165 bishop of Chartres, 1168 added archbishopric of Sens, 1176-1202 archbishop of Reims, 1179 cardinal-priest of St. Sabina He was a distinguished patron of scholars See John R. Williams, *ut supra*, p xxii, for bibliography, and see *supra*, p xiv, for Arnulf's relations with this family

^b King Henry was enforcing his claim on Berri which the king of France and Theobald of Blois contested A truce was made between the two kings in November 1170 (Benedict, I, 10)

Request that
restitution be
enforced

Eapropter maiestati uestre supplicamus attentius, quatinus occasione refugii ei bona sua restitui faciatis, et, si quid est quod in ea parte ratio iuris difficiliter impetrat uel precipit obscurius, amicitie saltem tribuat uestre dignatio bonitatis

59. To Pope Alexander III.^a

C^s

[December 1170]

fo 67.

[R]euerentissimo domino suo et patri, *Alexandro*, dei gratia catholice ecclesie summo pontifici, *Arnulfus*, *Lexouensis* ecclesie humilis minister, salutem, et debitam cum omni deuotione obedientiam

Arnulf's efforts
for the peace of
the church

Quanta sollicitudine et diligentia, quibus modis et artibus, ad pacem domini Cantuariensis post egressum eius laborauerim, manifestis rerum liquet indicus, adeo ut id nec imperitia debeat ignorare, nec ingratitude ualeat diffiteri. Licet enim apud principum celsitudinem periculosa sit libertas consilii, presertim cum crebris exacerbationibus in perpetuas inimicicias odia conualescunt, accessi tamen frequens et sedulus intercessor, simulando plerumque, dissimulando sepius, sicut humana mos est ingenia uariare, ubi directis ¹rationibus suisque modis infructuose ueritas expeditur. Tanta quippe nominis illius apud regis domesticos inuidia percrebuerat, ut regi ²et regno putaretur infestus, quem uel zelus ecclesiastice pacis, uel preceptionis uestre necessitas de eo mentionem facere compellebat.

The reconcilia-
tion between
Henry and
Becket.

Vicit tamen regem inuictissimum uestre reuerentia maiestatis, et contra spem multorum, contra opinionem uniuersorum, ex quo dominus imperauit uentis et mari, uniuersa procellarum perturbatio conqueunt. Vicit enim iram, uicit odium, uicit denique seipsum ad preces uestras rex potentissimus, et precedentes acerbitates ob deuotionem uestre paternitatis clementia commutauit; adeo ut miraretur ipse, quod id sibi potuerit imperare, uel cuiusquam impendere caritati. Inde erat quod personam uestram omni sibi tempore feruentissima caritate credebatur fore deuinctam, quia soli uobis remisit quod erat humano generi, si peteret, negaturus.

¹ discretis, CC

² add simul, CC

^a See above, p. xlvii. The letter is repeated in C^s on fo 147, and it is collated here as CC.

Reddita est itaque, me presente, archiepiscopo pax et gratia, et,¹ ad eius uoluntatem, per nuntios simul et litteras, ad uniuersa que possederat restitutus,² in Angham a domesticis regis deductus, ibique ex utriusque regis mandato, summo³ cum honore summaque gratulatione receptus est. Facta esse uidebatur tranquillitas magna, et in deuotionem uestram omnia reducta³ erant, et ambo reges ad obedientiam uestram pariter et humiliter inclinati. Ipse uero, quod sine dolore simul et rubore dicere non possumus, portauit in manibus ignem et gladium, et, qui uenisse sperabatur in benedictionibus, tranquille pacis incia uisus est maledictionibus inficisse, uestre, ut aiunt, indulgentie beneficis abusus, qui rescriptum, quod ut pax fieret datum credimus, ad pacis lesionem non distulit retorquere. *Ecce enim in pace amaritudo amarissima*, et ob noui regis consecrationem, postquam inter regem et archiepiscopum compositum est, quam etiam⁴ ex conscientia uestra et mandato nouimus processisse, quidam episcoporum ab episcopali dignitate suspensi sunt,⁵ quidam anathematis uinculo grauius innodati,⁶ quasi in ipsa consecratione aliquid ecclesiastice deperierit dignitati. Loquor ergo, licet id presens non uiderim, quod per religiosas uenerandasque personas, omniumque⁵ maiores exceptione, michi fideliter innotuit.

Nichil unquam in consecrationibus regum exigi solet aut requiri, quod a consecrando non fuerit diligentius requisitum, et exuberantius adimpletum. Iurauit enim filius, patre id affectuosius mandante et districtius imperante, utraque manu super sanctum altare, coram positis ewangelis et sanctorum reliquiis, quicquid ecclesiastice libertatis uel dignitatis in canone continetur; quia, quem ritu Christiano consecrari postulabat, Christianis profecto legibus uoluit subiacere. Nichil ibi omnino de quarumlibet consuetudinum sonuit diuersitate, super qua beatitudinem uestram, sicut ex tenore rescripti uestri datur intelligi, fraudulenter nouimus circumuentam.⁷ Nichilominus tamen episcopi, non conuenti, non citati, inauditi, subito sagittati sunt, et humiliati pedes eorum in compedibus, qui mandatis

fo 67"
Peace has been granted to Becket,

but instead of peace he bore a sword into England.

Isa xxxviii 17.

He punished the bishops for the coronation of the young Henry.

The consecration was quite regular,

and the pope had been deceived.

¹ et repeated, C³

² om, CC

³ deducta, CC

⁴ om, CC

⁵ omnique, CC

² 22 July 1170 at Freteval See *Materials*, vii, 343 and 346

³ Exeter, Chester, Rochester, St Asaph, Llandaff, York and Durham (*Materials*, vii, 360 and 364)

⁴ London and Salisbury (*Materials*, vii, 360).

⁷ For the pope's charges, see his letter to the archbishop of York (*Materials*, vii, 364)

apostolicis obsequium fideliter prestiterunt, et uterque regum graui merore confectus, qui in ignominiam suam, quod actum est, existimant plenius redundare. Facta sunt ergo nouissima peiora prioribus, quoniam, una prius ecclesia laborante, multis modo perniciēs imminet et lamentum, cum in hoc facto contra personas ecclesiasticas ambo reges ad graues inimicicias prouocentur.

Plea that the
archbishop's
anger should be
restrained

Supplicamus ergo dilectissime nobis paternitati uestre, cui omnium ecclesiarum et personarum curam a deo commissam esse cognouimus, quatinus auctoritas uestra, que regis celsitudinem ad misericordiam potuit inclinare, sacerdotis animositatem temperet et refrenet, ne subita pacis insperate leticia, quam de uestra benignitate percepimus, in eam crescat insolentiam, ut confidentia gratie uestre bella regibus inducat et regnis; quia noster et multorum metus est, ne scintillula¹ hec ad incendium coalescat, nisi discreta seueritas celerius hominis illius feruorem temperet et compescat audaciam.

Omnipotens dominus personam uestram ecclesie sue per multa tempora conseruet incolumem²

54b. To Pope Alexander III.^a

D²; E, C³.

[December 1170]

fo 52^v.

xliiij. Ad eundem pro Gilleberto Londoniensis episcopo³

Commendation of
the bishop of
London

Personam domini Londoniensis⁴ apud excellentiam uestram diligentius commendare superuacuum duxi, quia quod publice notum est nec accusatione sollempni nec multa commendationis instantia certum est indigere. Siquidem plenitudo uirtutis eius et scientie tot apud nos enituit argumentis, tot subnixa suffragis, tot

¹ scintilla, CC ² om Omnipotens incolumem, CC

³ Domino pape Lexou, C³

⁴ Personam domini Lond etcetera, ut supra, vsque 'capiti nescientis illisit' (p. 107, line 15), nisi quia ibi 'trahitur', hic in 'Tractus est' mutatur. Sequitur, 'Quod auditum uestre mmmrum . . .' (p. 108, line 21), C³.

^a For the contents of the letter, see above, p. xliiij. For its form, see above, p. 97, where the earlier and shorter version is printed. Of the longer version C³ only gives the text of the increment, and a faulty indication as to the reconstruction of the whole letter. This course of creating two letters quite distinct except for a common introduction and conclusion was taken, perhaps, in order to avoid repetition. The later letter, however, could not have existed independently as it appears in C³.

utilitatibus approbata est, ut, quod in multos dignatio diuina distribuit, hoc in ipsum maioris affluentie gratia cumularit.

Tractus est tamen iam diu homo sanctus in causam, et, sermonibus odii circumdatus, et ¹ expugnatus est ² gratis, et inuidie questionibus infestatus ³ Tractus est, inquam, homo sanctus in causam, si

The method of his accusers.

tamen causa dicenda est, ubi nullam potuit contradictio facere questionem, ubi nullum litigium, nulla iudicarij ordinis forma processit, ubi sine reo et teste idem actor et iudex solitariam formauit de singulari uoluntate sententiam.^a Felicem se iste et omni donatum beatitudine iudicaret, si ei iudex suus auditorij communis aream impertisset, si citatus uenire, si conuentus respondere, si denique dubium experiri potuisset sententie fatalis euentum Sed in ipsum de alio regno, de transmarinis partibus, de longinquo scilicet uelut in occultis sagitta transmissa est; et hostis, dum preuideri metuit, gladium protinus capiti nescientis illisit.

fo 53

Solent patres filiorum delictis uirgam prius adhibere quam baculum, et, si correctio moderata non proficit, seueriora postmodum flagella consumunt. Vtilius fuerat pepercisse persone, in quam se nouerat totam scandalizare prouinciam, quia ad bonum pacis non tam pena unius quam multorum gratia profuisset. Videtur de motu animi magis quam de caritate processisse quod factum est, quia totam se protinus ad penam irrogandam potentia presidentis effudit, nichil reseruans in posterum in quo uel dispensare prudentia posset, uel misericordia subuenire Fuerat fortassis primum ab episcopali suspendendus officio, ab altaris ministerio prohibendus, a liminibus sequestrandus ecclesie, ut contumax nouissime gladio feriretur, nec ad perniciem fratris libentius cucurrisse, sed cogi uideretur inuitus. Neque enim salutem hominis uelle credendus est qui festinat ad sanguinem, sed delinquentes ecclesiastica etiam censura premunit, ut scilicet liberentur dilecti, quos preciosi sanguinis redemit effusio, et fugiant a facie arcus, ut in contumaces tantum spicula superbe prouocata descendant.

His punishment.

Quod si etiam certum sit transitum litteris et legatis ad eum peruium non fuisse, sed omnem uiam legitimum edictis secularis potentie terrore preclusam, delictum alienum innocentie istius preiudicare non debuit, nec ipsi de iure potuit pena, quam non merebatur, infligi Verumtamen est delusa potestatis astucia sagaci-

Even if the punishment was regular, there are extenuating circumstances.

¹ om, E

² expugnatur, E

³ infestatur, E.

^a See above, p 98, note a

fo 53^r

tate perfe|rentium aliquas ad ipsum litteras et mandata uenisse, quibus tota diligentia paruit, omnibus scilicet uel denunciatis publice uel effectui debito mancipatis Porro, si in tanto discrimine rerum consulenda uideretur presidentis auctoritas, nuntius huius ad eum omnis negabatur accessus, nullumque paterne caritatis exstabat inditum, ubi ei consili gratia simul et remedii copia tollebatur Ad hec nobis, qui rerum ueritatem ex magna parte tam experimento quam fidei de proximo relatione cognouimus, licet apud maiestatem uestram de pura testimonium conscientia perhibere, uirum inter minas alterius potestatis et alterius insidias constitutum, quatenus ad eum peruenire potuit, ecclesiasticis semper preceptionibus obedisse, nec ab initio discordie causam, uel postea fomentum aliquod audacie prestitisse. Ille uero, sicut dictum est, non obseruata causa uel ordine, uirum, cuius laus est in ecclesia, ad scandalum omnium bonorum in facie confudit ecclesie, et animam sanctam amaritudine simul et merore compleuit Benedictus autem deus, qui aduersus huiusmodi sanctam Romanam ecclesiam nobis ad sollempne refugium et remedium salutare constituit, ut eius scilicet presulatu reducatur ad formam, quod cuiuslibet insolentia uel inperitia denigrauit ad culpam ^a

Disapproval of
Becket's actions,and trust in
the papacyFoliot has been
absolved.He was punished
again

fo. 54.

Siquidem quod actum fuerat uestre ¹ nimirum discretionis auctoritate correctum est, accepto scilicet ab isto ² iuramento, quod in tempore uobis complacito super his, de quibus agebatur, mandatis apostolicis obediret ^b Stabat ergo uir innocens sub uestri securus expectatione mandati; sed posterior emissa est seuerior quidem priore sententia, nulloque mandato, nulloque premissio cuiuslibet uocationis aut conuentionis alloquio, in idem unculum, immo fortius, litteris maiestatis uestre retrusus ³ est, eique remedium mansuetudinis uestre, in quo respirare ceperat, est ablatum ^c Mirati sunt qui audierunt tantum | aduersus innocentiam persone,

¹ C³ takes up from p 107, line 15, with Quod auditum uestre

² om ab isto, C³ ³ intrusus uel re, E

^a The piece which has been interpolated to adapt the letter to its use in 1170 (see above, p 97, note a) begins here C³ can now be used for collation

^b He was absolved at Rouen at Easter 1170 (Diceto, i, 338) For the conditions, see *Materials*, vii, 273

^c After the coronation of the young Henry he was excommunicated again (*Materials*, vii, 363 and 399), and the sentence was served on 1 December 1170 (Eyton).

tantum aduersus ordinem iurisprudentie uestre subripi potuisse, cum ipsum a religione iuramenti nullatenus descuisse constaret, nec ipsum postmodum in aliquo iudicialis experientia condemnasset.

Certum est, et ¹ omnibus regni illius incolis manifestum, hominem sanctum in his, que male acta sunt, nichil uoluntate, nichil consilio, nichil opere deliquisse, eique generale testimonium de pura omnium conscientia peribetur ipsum ecclesiasticis semper preceptionibus fideliter obedisse. Sane uerum est tam ipsum quam alios incumbentis potentie uehementiam timuisse, maiorisque periculi neccessitate compulsos, dissimulasse plerumque, et sepius exhibuisse modestiam quam rigorem, et tanquam seductores motum potestatis consultis aliquando blandicus delinisse, ut eis ueritatem iusticie, quatenus id fieri poterat, puritas conscientie reseruaret.

General
vindication.

Profecto in articulo diei illius uidimus statum ecclesie partium nostrarum sub tanto discrimine constitutum, ut scissure quantitatem nulla potentia, nulle diuitie, nulla posset ad plenum diligentia resarcire, nec exsors tanti mali ipsa etiam Romana ecclesia preterisset, nisi incendium, quod excrecebat,² pontificalis temperantia restrinxisset. Super quo quantas possumus de intimo cordium sancte³ prouidentie uestre gratiarum referimus actiones, quod paterna nobis clementia pepercistis, et malum a nobis longanimitate studuistis auertere, quod nostris credebatur procul dubio ceruicibus imminere. Inde est quod post multos metus laboresque diutinos et naufragium imminens, portus nobis securitatis et tranquillitatis incipit apparere, certaue spe per merita uestra letos exitus et iocundos prestolamur⁴ euentus.

It is no time for
a quarrel

At last they had
hoped for peace

Porro, licet personam, pro qua scribimus, facile sit in omnibus excusari, testimonia tamen et preces uenerabilium personarum benignitati uestre credidit offerendas,⁵ que⁶ nulla unquam audacia uestram attemptarent in aliquo fallere sanctitatem^a. Quod si ad omnimodam fidei firmitatem ulterius procedendum crediderit uestra discretio, paratus est coram legatis uestris aut personis, quibus hoc uobis⁷ delegare placuerit, omnem a se culpam manifesta ueritate depellere, et, si res altius discusse fuerint, inuenietur in plersque laudem quoque plurimam sagaci sollertia meruisse.^b Affectabat⁸

Others plead
for Foliot.

fo 54^v

He is prepared
to justify himself

¹ om, C³ ² recrescebat, C³ ³ facte expunged, C³ ⁴ amplexamur, C³
⁵ of|offerendas, D² ⁶ quia, C³ ⁷ om, C³ ⁸ add enim, C³

^a Cf. *Materials*, vii, 490

^b The excommunication was removed at Chaumont on 1 August 1171 (*Diceto*, i, 347); his suspension at Aumale on 1 May 1172 (*ibid*, i, 351)

He has tried to visit the pope, but weakness has prevented him

Plea for justice and mercy.

omni desiderio ad uestram uenire presentiam, idque iam secundo an posset expertus est; ^a sed progressum aliquatenus etas prouectior, persone grauitas, difficultas itineris et senectuti semper cognata debilitas reduxerunt ^b

Ad hec, non solum nostra pro eo, sed totius regni, immo etiam regnorum, desideria, pietatis uestre genibus aduoluuntur, ut, secundum datum uobis a deo spiritum, iusticiam eius conseruetis illesam; aut si quid etiam imperfectionis est, oculi uestri uideant equitatem, quia nichil de indulgentie beneficio consequetur, quod non excedentia persone merita recompensent. ¹

Et nos quidem ista ad nullius suggillationem, sed ad huius prouentum scribenda censuimus, quia et huic apostolica poterit gratia prouidere, et aliis nichilominus de eiusdem discretonis et mansuetudinis copia subuenire

60. To Pope Alexander III.^c

D², E, C³.

[December 1170]

fo. 51^v.

Pleads for the bishop of Salisbury,

fo. 52

who is in very weak health

He is also innocent

xlvij Ad dominum papam Alexandrum pro Ioscelino Saleburiensi episcopo ²

Pro uenerabili patre nostro et amico carissimo, Ioscelino, Salesburiensi episcopo, maiestati uestre preces affectuosas offerimus, et benignitati deuotas gratiarum | exsoluimus actiones ^d

Pepercit ei misericordia uestra, parcendumque impotentie eius ratio postulabat, quia grauitate corporis, etatis prouectu, debilitate plurima circumuentus, quantum estimare possumus, ad uestram non posset presentiam peruenire Super eo autem, pro quo grauiorem ei uobis placuit irrogare sententiam, quantum de intimo

¹ C³'s version of the later letter ends here

² Domino pape pro Salesburiensi episcopo, C³

^a He almost reached Rome after his first excommunication (Diceto, i 335; *Materials*, vii, 275).

^b This is the end of the increment (see above, p 97, note a, and p 108, note a).

^c See above, p. xlvii.

^d Joscelin was suspended on the return of Becket on 1 December for complicity in the coronation of the young king (Eyton; Diceto, i, 340; *Materials*, vii, 360). In April 1171 the pope gave permission for him to have conditional absolution because of his weak health (*Materials*, vii, 481)

conscientie eius, quantum de opinione et attestazione publica, quantum de propria existimatione presumimus, quod ad factum illud lamentabile pertinet, omnino credimus innocentem; quia nec honestas hominis, nec liberalis animi nota mansuetudo, nec adeo tot informata temporibus, tot experimentis altius erudita, providi senis prudentia desciusset. Porro uoluntas illa ab his, a quibus opus illud tam maliciose commissum est, omni studio seruabatur abscondita, ne cuiusquam prescientia concepti malefici prepediret effectum. Quis uero, qui eiusmodi malicie concepisset affectum, persone cuiquam, presertim ecclesiastice, reuelaret, cum non in unius tantum caput stringi gladius, sed in ceruicem totius ecclesie uideretur?

Vidimus nos urum istum, pro quo scribimus, in initio tempestatis inter coepiscopos sancto illi studiosius adherentem, multasque iniurias pro libertate ecclesie et ipsius gratia pertulisse. Que sane ei apud eum perseuerauit gratia, donec Ragin[us] archidiaconus, qui huic ea, quam scitis, etiam sanguinis affectione deuinctus est, regalibus mancipatus obsequiis, regalia cepit ad uos mandata deferre, que utilitatibus archiepiscopi credebantur in aliquibus obuiare.^a Decretum est igitur patrem punire pro filio, ut eum ab obsequiis illis paterni compassio doloris auerteret, uel in utrumque grauior animaduersio uindicaret. Vtinam ille¹ zeli feruorem temperasset ad tempus, quia, in causa ecclesie, quam suscepit, sollerti mansuetudine utilius proficere potuit, si pacificus esset ingressus eius, si suas uindicare distulisset offensas,² neque repentinis infestationibus *fo. 52^v* iocunda noue corone gaudia denigrasset. Sane de eo, quod de corona factum est, episcopi neque tunc, nec adhuc, se credunt in aliquo deliquisse; quia, sicut aiunt, litterarum uestrarum precessit auctoritas, et eos ad hoc ipsum multis exemplis antiquitas informabat.

Si tamen in hoc eos aliqua in parte deliquisse constaret, delicti tamen quantitas bonitatis apostolice misericordiam non excedit; et de reliquo, secundum assignatum a sanctitate uestra modum, de huius innocentia diligentie uestre, remota prorsus ambiguitate, constabit. Supplicamus igitur, precesque iam cum fiducia ducimus

His behaviour in the Becket controversy.

The actions of his son, Reginald, lost him Becket's favour.

Criticism of Becket.

The coronation.

Plea for mercy.

¹ *om.*, C³

² *transpose the two si clauses*, C³

^a Reginald, archdeacon of Salisbury and Joscelin's son, was employed by Henry on his business. See *Materials*, vi, 273, 537 and elsewhere, and cf. Peter of Blois, ep. no. 24, *M.P.L.*, ccvii, 86, and *Materials* iii, 524.

offerendas, quia ex hoc nunc tempus est miserendi,¹ et post diutina flagella paterne pietatis uisceribus habundare Absit enim a benignitate uestra, ut personam uenerabilem, tot acceptam bonis, tot laudibus illustratam, nouissima senectutis sue² merore faciat et amaritudine consummare!³ Profecto preces nulla nos audacia compulisset offerre, nisi, secundum rerum ueritatem et persone meritum,⁴ ipsum apostolica dignum misericordia crederemus

61. To Pope Alexander III.

C³

[c 1169-70]

fo 58^v.

On behalf of
John de Belmeis,
bishop of
Poitiers

Domino pape Lexouiensis [episcopus]

Cf pp. 56, 63, and
181

Personam domini Pictauiensis apud celsitudinem uestram commendare superuacuum esse sollicitudinem arbitramur, cum liquido constet non solum honestatem et scientiam eius, uerum etiam fidem et deuotionem erga sanctam Romanam ecclesiam olim ante episcopatum suum euidentibus indicis et argumentis pluribus clariuisse.^a Post susceptum uero episcopatum, in eius sanctificatione sanctitas et magnificentia passibus equis mutuisque complexibus occurrerunt, ut nec sanctitas magnificentiam deserat, nec magnificentia minuat sanctitatem. Homo est uirtute conspicuus et ueritate, quem inter maximos Gallicana numerat et ueneratur ecclesia, quem etiam ipsa sublimitas apostolica proprius exultare potest manibus consecrasse. Nunc autem insurrexerunt aduersus eum uiri illusores et ingrati, in necem eius suis armati⁵ beneficis, qui et episcopum ad interitum persequi, et antiquam ecclesie Pictauiensis libertatem ad indignissimam nituntur pertrahere seruitutem. Si ergo manus uestre formauerunt episcopum ad honorem, et non ad illudendum ei, iniurias eius, immo uestras, seueritate debita uindicate, ut, cum in auribus ecclesie manifeste sonuerit de uindicta, imperitia doceri ualeat et audacia de cetero coerceri.

¹ misereri, C³, altered, D²

⁴ menta, C³

² add in, E

⁵ armata, MS

³ consummare, E

^a John de Belmeis, treasurer of York, bishop of Poitiers 1162, and later archbishop of Lyons (DNB)

62. To Giles de la Perche.^a[1170] D², E, C³xlx. Ad Egidium, Ebroicensem electum.¹fo 54^v

Benedictus deus, qui ad episcopale uos uocat officium, et ad onera nostra pariter comportanda conducit. Gaudemus plane uestra ad honorem debitum merita promoueri, sed maiore gaudio commouemur, quia sapientiam uestram ex hoc nunc totam scimus utilitatibus ecclesie mancipari.

Congratulations on his election to the bishopric of Evreux,

Me uero commune gaudium iustum est speciali leticia celebrare, quia personam meam bonitas uestra speciali semper dilectione complexa est, et ego ad honoris uestri prouentum totis semper desideriis anhelau. Concurrerant siquidem hinc inde alterna mutue caritatis officia, cum alter non magis suis quam alterius optaret oportunitatibus inseruire. Bene autem nobis in hac parte prouidentia diuina consuluit, quod, cum sapientiam uestram ad alias partes multorum desideria traherent, ipsa uos nostre presertim prouincie reseruauit. Iustum sane est eius uos potissimum obligari muneribus, eius necessitatibus inseruire, que uos suis aluit uberibus, suo fouit amplexu, suis honoribus ampliavit. Michi uero benignius indulgentia diuine propiciationis arrisit, que me ab amico nec diuersitate professionis abiunxit, nec locorum distantia separauit, sed nos, quasi contigua positione coniunctos, ad frequentes comparauit occursus, ut ad communicanda profuse caritatis officia ipsa locorum occasio seruiat, et propinquitati² corporum n[ost]ri³ chilominus propinquitat respondeat animorum. Interim profusis desideriis et deuotis orationibus arbitror insistendum, ut initia consecrationis uestre diuina benignitas felici secundet³ auspicio, et ad exsecutionem episcopalis officii uos exuberantis gratie uirtute confirmet⁴.

fo 55

¹ Venerabili fratri et amico karissimo, Ernulfo, dei gratia Ebroicensi electo, Arnulfus, Lexouiensis ecclesie humilis minister, salutem, C³

² propinquitate, D²

³ secundat, C³

⁴ add Valet, C³

^a For Giles, see note a to ep no 1

63. To Baldwin, bishop of Noyon.^aD²; E, C³

[c. 1170]

fo. 55.

Priests from his diocese, who have been employed in collecting money for the rebuilding of the church at Lisieux, have fled, leaving Arnulf and another as security for debts

1 Ad *Baldewinum*, Nouiomensem episcopum.¹

Uenerunt ad nos sacerdotes quidam de episcopatu uestro, quos ad fraternitates constituendas, et faciendas collectas ad reedificationem ecclesie nostre, quia periti et instructi super huiusmodi² officio dicebantur, duximus retinendos.^b Cum autem, perlustrato episcopatu, apud nos aliquamdiu resedissent, omnes fere quasi facto agmine fuga clandestina discesserunt, me quidem in summa maiore xxx. librarum suis fideiussorio nomine obligatum creditoribus reh-nquentes, quas ego nimirum omnes, seruata promissionis mee ueritate, persolui. Sed et latori presentium, R.,³ sacerdoti nostro, eadem fraude lxx solidos abstulerunt, cum ipsi nobis, tactis sacrosanctis euangelis, iuramentum corporale se fidem bonam nobis seruatu-ros in tota executione negotii prestitissent.

fo. 55^v.

Arnulf asks for their punishment
C³

fo. 63^v.

Their names and dwellings.

Chauny.

Péronne.

Super quo carissimam nobis fraternitatem uestram obnixius exoramus, non tam sane recuperationem pecunie, quam uindictam tante fraudis et iniurie persequentes, ut nobis iusticia uestra satisfieri faciat, et tantum crimen anima[d]uersione⁴ debita corrigatis

[Porro sacerdotum nomina necessario duximus adnectenda, et loca in quibus eos audiuimus demorari. Adam, qui in uilla quadam, que Noua Villa dicitur, domicilium habere et infamem familiam fouere dicitur, dux fuit omnium qui uenerunt, et se pro omnibus nobis constituit obligatum, Drogo de Latiniaco, qui apud Calucium commoratur; Walterus de Beluaco, habitator Perone; Walterus Flauus, quem in eodem loco non continue quidem audiuimus, sed frequentissime demorari, et alii uenerunt cum eis, quorum nomina supersedimus annotare, quia de episcopatu uestro non sunt, neque uestre subditi potestati Valete]⁵

¹ Venerabili et dilecto patri et amico, B, dei gratia Nouiomensis episcopo, Arnulfus Lexouiensis ecclesie humilis minister, salutem cum omni uere dilectionis affectu, C³

² huiusmodi, E

³ Rad, C³

⁴ om, leaving space, C³

⁵ C³ adds this unique passage

^a 1167-74 or 1175.

^b See above, pp. xlviii, seq

64. To Henry, bishop of Bayeux.^a[? c. 1170] ^C

Uenerabili et dilecto patri et amico *Henrico*, dei gratia *Baiocensi* fo 63^v
episcopo, *Arnulfus*, *Lexomensis* ecclesie humilis minister, salutem
et plurimam dilectionem.

Robertus Louet,^b audito quod ego a domino papa litteras accepis- Report on a case
sem super lite dirimenda, que inter ipsum et magistrum *Ansquetillum* between Robert
uertitur, litteras a me postulauit ostendi, quibus diligenter inspectis, Louet and An-
cum sublatum appellationis remedium aduertisset, dixit se super quetil, concerning
eadem causa ad Romanum pontificem appellasse, et adhuc pendere the church of
diem appellationis, | prosecuturum se appellationem quam fecerat, fo 64
quia malebat apud delegantem quam coram delegato iudice litigare.
(see next letter)

Ego uero appellationem illam dixi eo apostolico scripto sublatam, diemque, quam assignaueram, ei instantius assignauit, quartam scilicet diem paschali feriarum apud Cadumum, ut ibi et presentia uestra frui et nri consilio ualeamus. Quod uobis ideo scribimus, quia hoc per uos magistro *Ansquetillo* uolumus indicari, quia ei foret utile, si cursorem cum litteris nostris ad sedem apostolicam destinaret, quia dominus papa non recordabitur fortassis quod causam delegauerit michi, et ille, quia munus de me confidit, alium fortassis iudicem impetrabit. Ego tamen interim, deo uolente, et ad diem constitutum ueniam, facturum consilio uestro quod iudiciarius nobis ordo dictauerit. Valete. Ep no 65

Decanum uestrum,^c si bene uobiscum est, et magistrum *Humfredum* et *Ricardum*, *Constantiensem* archidiaconum,^d uobiscum adducite

65. To Pope Alexander III.

[? c. 1170] ^C

Domino pape *Lexouiensis* [episcopus].

fo. 64

Causam, que inter magistrum *Anchetillum* et Robertum Louet^b

^a Dean of Salisbury, bishop of Bayeux, 1164-1205.

^b There was a family of Louets who were lords of Bonneville la Louet, situated between Corneilles and Pont l'Éveque, and there is a Henry Louet at this time who had a son Robert (Léchaudé d'Anisy, *Les anciennes abbayes de Normandie*, 1, 97 no 31 and p 98 no. 36, etc.).

^c William de Tournebu, bishop of Coutances, ante 1183

^d Bishop of Avranches, 1171

Report on a case between Robert Louvet and Anquetil, concerning the church of Colleville (see previous letter)

uertitur super parte quadam ecclesie de Colevilla,^a sublimitas uestra paruitati mee delegauit sine appellationis obstaculo decidendam, et ego quidem locum et tempus oportunum partibus assignau.

Sed Robertus Louet, inspectis licet litteris uestris, et aliis, quas ad ipsum specialiter de eadem re sanctitas uestra transmisit, acceptis, appellatum aduersum se super eadem causa proposuit, nec se ad uocationem meam uenturum, sed ad uestram dixit presentiam profecturum. Ego autem dixi beneficio rescripti uestri neccessitatem ei profectionis remissam,¹ gratiamque uestram laboribus sumptibusque partium pepercisse, quo ad causam uterque uenire posset instructor, et facilius probationum, si requirerentur, copiam exhibere. Ille uero, ut per dilationes diutius possessoris commodo fungeretur, et quia ueritas rei apud nos notoria est, ad prefixam diem non uenit, licet x die ante in eisdem partibus extitisset. Licet ergo aduersarius eius plurimum institisset, et de fuga illius et manifesta, sicut aebat, contumacia quereretur, in causam ulterius non processi; sed uestre nimirum dispositioni, si ille ad uos profectus est, omnia reseruau. Credo autem hominem illum nostrum reformidare iudicium, quoniam de iusticia non confidit, et quia ecclesia illa in fundo nostro in episcopatu quidem Baiocensi constituta est, michique et toti regioni ueritas prorsus innotuit, et quibus in hoc negotio artibus hactenus sit processum.

Valeat sanctitas uestra.

Cf p 213

66. To Nicholas de Montiéramey.^b

D²; E, C³.

[c. 1170]

fo. 64

lix Ad Nicholaum, monachum de monasterio Arramato.²

Litteras discretionis uestre non sine magna ammiratione perlegi,

¹ *interlined over indultum, MS*

² Arnulfus, dei gratia Lexouensis ecclesie humilis minister, uiro erudito et eloquenti, Nicholao, priori Sancti Iohannis, salutem, C³.

^a There are two Collevilles in the diocese of Bayeux, Colleville-sur-Orne, 13 kms N N E of Caen, and Colleville-sur-Mer, the same distance N W of Bayeux. Arnulf says that he had a manor in the parish, but unfortunately the episcopal estates are not known with precision at this time.

^b *Arramarensis*, the Benedictine house of Montiéramey, about 20 kms. S E of Troyes in the diocese of Sens. Mr. Nicholas of Clairvaux or of Montiéramey was a monk of the latter house, but changed to the Cistercian order and became

prudentiamque principis et religionem uestram impudici adolescentis fallacia dolui circumuentam.

¹ De eo autem quod ² scripsistis, ipsum uos pro intercessione mea in ulteriorem gratiam recepisse, meque id a uobis litteris extorsisse frequentibus, sciatis me numquam ³ pro eo uobis aut alii litteras destinasse, nec ullas preces cuiquam pro eo ullo umquam tempore porrexisse. Siquidem michi nulla ⁴ cognatione coniunctus est, nullis acceptus meritis, nulla familiaritate deuinctus, immo rarissime nostro se conspectui presumit offerre, quoniam, celebri respersus infamia, etiam in publicum prodire, nocente conscientia, reformidat. Ego autem litteras comitis ⁵ ab eo ⁶ iam secundas accepi, quas tenerrima dictasse uidebatur affectio, quia nichil litterarum continentie defuit, quod uel amor imperare uoluerit, uel curiosa diligentia potuerit inuenire.

Porro littere ille stilum uestre peritiae redolebant, apicesque | his, quos nouiter a uestra sanctitate recepi, identitatem manus michi certis indicibus penitus expresserunt. Super eo autem quod sigillum comitis ipsum falsasse dicitis, mutuatque falsitate litterarum nomine comitis pecuniam accepisse, si meritis eius non ducitis indulgendum, ordine iudiciario oportebit arguere diffidentem, et fortassis ad peragendum reum probationum uobis copia deerit, et, si ad testium depositionem causa peruenerit, tristem fortassis in ipsa sortientur examinatione defectum. Sed, etsi tenuerit actio, ipsam procul dubio inopia debitoris elidet, nisi ⁶ uestra bonitas in hoc casu solita uelit ei munificentia subuenire, meritisque eius in oportunitate sua compassio uestra debitas gratiarum referat actiones. Inhumanum etiam forte reputaretur a pluribus, si adolescentem

Disclaims interest in a canon of St Stephen, Troyes, who has been guilty of forging the seal of the count of Champagne, and thus obtaining a loan

He has received letters from the count of Champagne, which seem to have been written by Nicholas

fo 64^v

Unless the youth is forgiven the case will have to go to court, but proof may be lacking,

he has no money,

¹ add Quod, C³

² quod inserted, D²

³ nullas umquam, C³

⁴ nulla michi, C³

⁵ habeo, C³

⁶ add et, C³

secretary to St. Bernard. Through his insinuating grace he became a person of some importance, but in 1151 he was guilty of forging St. Bernard's seal. Later he returned to Montiéramey and became prior of its cell or priory of St. Jean Châtel, afterwards known as St. Blaise, in the city of Troyes, before 1161, and died before 1178 (J. M. Besse, *Abbayes et prieurés Province ecclésiastique*, ed. C. Lalore and L. Pigeotte (1890), pp. 73 and 98; *HL*, xiii, 553).

⁶ Henry I, the Liberal, count of Meaux, and 1152 count of Champagne and Bré; c. 1127-81. Arnulf had known him on the Crusade, and Henry appears to have been a personal friend of Nicholas (*Cartulaire de . . . Montiéramey*, pp. 74, 76, 85, etc.). For Arnulf's relations with this family, see above, p. xiv.

and he is well-born, and mercy is recommended.

If a case is to be made of it Arnulf cannot judge, for the youth is not his servant

The youth is a canon of the count of Champagne, who must have cognizance of the case

Arnulf has never received the hawk which Nicholas sent him by the youth

ingenuum liberalitas uestra traheret in discrimen, si unū saltem delicto post tot collata beneficia persone id etatis uestra beniuolentia non ignoscat

Si tamen iniuriam hanc acriore instantia persequi destinatis, ego seruū alienum iudicare non debeo, domino suo stet aut cadat, nec ego eum carceris ergastulo claudere, uel ferreis uellem artare ¹ compedibus, neque bonitas uestra uelle debet pro tam modica summa ipsum durioribus unculis alligari Vester est, quia uos eum uestrum beneficis et doctrina fecistis; dominique comitis canonicus est,² ut scripsistis; ideoque apud eum conueniendus est, et forum illud, cui obnoxius est, tenetur agnoscere, iudicisque sui sententis obedire. Sed et accipiter,³ quem, quarto mutatum, sicut scribitis, uestra per eum michi magnificentia misit, tanquam alas habens, forsitan auolauit, aut ipsum adhuc ad longinquiora tempora reseruandum censuit, quo ⁴ ipsum magis faciat prouectior mutatio gratiosum ⁴

67. To Rotrou of Warwick, archbishop of Rouen.

C².

[² c 1170]

fo. 59^v

Uenerabili et dilecto patri et domino, *Rotrodo*, dei gratia *Rothomagensi* archiepiscopo, *Arnulfus*, *Lexomensis* ecclesie humilis minister, salutem cum debite caritatis et humilitatis affectu.]

fo. 60.

On behalf of the abbess of St Désir, who is involved in lawsuits.

Inter abbatissam nostram *Lexouensem* ^b et *Iordanum* quendam super beneficiis quibusdam ecclesiasticis in auditorio domini *Constantiensis* episcopi ^a questio uertebatur, que, de auctoritate uestra et mandato domini regis et episcopi utriusque etiam partis assensu, iuramento designatarum personarum dirimenda commissa est, et, post multas dilationes et labores, abbatisse id, quod erat in controuersia, testium iuramentis addictum. Appellauit ad audientiam uestram predictus *Iordanus*, licet de consensu ipsius tam iuramenta

¹ aptare, C³.

² accepi, C³

³ qua, C³

⁴ add Valete, C³.

^a Henry founded the college of St Stephen at Troyes for fifty canons, and he himself, lies buried in his fine church (Besse, *op cit*)

^b The Benedictine abbey of St Désir in the suburbs of Lisieux, of which the history is extremely obscure between 1113 and 1233. See the Abbé G A Simon, *Liste des abbes de Saint-Désir de Lisieux* (1928)

^c Richard de Bohun.

quam testium nominatio processisset, diemque appellationis sua auctoritate prefixit, ut quod de iure non poterat, indictis pauperi mulieri sumptibus et laboribus, optineret Qu[ia] ergo aduersarius diem sibi inuicem et locum prefigere nulla iuris ratione permissum est, a uestra, ad quem appellatum est, auctoritate diem et locum oportuno petimus assignari, ut tam diuturnum litigium tandem uestre discretionis et misericordie iudicio consummetur Valete.

68. To Pope Alexander III.

[? c. 1170] C¹.

Domino pape Lexouiensis [episcopus]

fo 59^v

Vsurpauit abbatisa quedam de monasterio Villari^a ecclesiam quandam in episcopatu nostro, ea occasione quod monasterium suum quasdam in parochia decimationes percipere consuevit, alienum quoque crisma in episcopatum nostrum furtim inuehit, et absque¹ monasterii sui priuilegio in predicta ecclesia iura sibi episcopalia nititur uendicare. Sacerdotes enim eiusdem ecclesie, per manum predecessorum nostrorum ab antiquissimis instituti temporibus, ecclesie nostre omnem obedientiam et reuerentiam² exhibentes, sine ulla contradictione episcopis et archidiaconis Lexouiensis ecclesie omnia episcopalia et census sinodales persoluerunt,³ ecclesiamque Lexouensem, tamquam matrem suam, debitis et humilibus obsequiis agnouerunt.

The abbess of Montivilliers usurps episcopal rights in the church of Vasouy.

Iste quoque nouissimus, per ecclesiam nostram in presbiterum ordinatus, michi et archidiaconis meis annis plurimis deuote simul et humiliter obediuit, nichil omnino detrectans quod uicini consueuerant facere sacerdotes, donec, in auditorio nostro de publico accusatus concubinato, metu litigii sese iuri[s]dictioni nostre eximere prauis artibus et exquisitis mendaciis attemptauit Ex sententia tamen excommunicatus, diuina nichilominus celebrare presumit, et ecclesiam suam, infra terminos episcopatus nostri sitam, quantum in se est, nostre subtrahit potestati

Supplicamus itaque, quatinus causam illam, que super ecclesia

¹ add sui, MS.² reuer|rentiam, MS³ persoluerint, *rst hand*, MS

^a Benedictine nunnery of Montivilliers, 6 kms north of Le Havre, in the diocese of Rouen See above, p xxxvi

Asks for any
judge except
Rotrou, arch-
bishop of
Rouen.

illa, uidelicet de Wuseuc,^a inter me et abbatissam uertitur et sacerdotem, alicui paruum nostrarum sine appellatione committatis episcopo, qui zelum¹ dei habeat et penitiam iudicandi. Dominum tamen nostrum Rothomagensensem archiepiscopum, quamuis in aliis eum propitium habeamus, in hac tamen causa eum tamquam suspectum et in alteram partem pronissimum formidamus, quia monasterium illud ad suam specialiter habet sollicitudinem pertinere.

69. To Giles, bishop of Évreux.^b

D²; E, C³.

[c 1170]

fo. 55^v.

li. Ad Egidium, Ebroicensem episcopum.²

Concerning the
case re St.
Évroult.

Super causa, que inter nos et abbatem illum^c uertitur, dilectionem uestram ad presens non oportet esse sollicitam, quia uos nec infestum principi nec ingratum abbati reddere uolumus aut debemus. Apud alium decreuimus experiri, quem non tam facile uel metus abstertere possit, uel fallaces³ blandicie dehnire. Sicut autem ex litteris⁴ promptum est intueri, nequaquam uos ab executione maior retardat auctoritas, neque necessitatem nisi uolenti supplicatio precantis indicit

The abbess of
Montuilliers
The way of the
godly.

Quod si de abbatissa^d uobis idem constat esse propositum, pro beneficio reputabimus, si nos premunire uoluerit, nec ad locum diemque prefixum frustra permiserit uestra gratia fatigari. Porro simpliciter ambulare non potest qui lubricos tortuosi serpentis explorat anfractus, qui, cum se plurimum profecisse⁵ crediderit, ad ipsa⁶ callide se⁷ sentit⁸ initia reuolutum⁹

¹ zelus, *rst hand*, MS ² Ad episcopum Ebroicensem, C³.

³ (*add* monachi, G, H, H¹ and H²)

⁴ (*add* legati, G, H, H¹ and H²) ⁵ *om*, C³ ⁶ ipsam, C³

⁷ *om*, C³. ⁸ sentat, C³.

⁹ The letter is repeated on fo 64^v in D², where it is marked with a marginal vacat

^a Vasouy, near Honfleur

^b For Giles, see above, p 1, note a, and for the matter, see above, p xxxvii

^c Glossed, *Sancti Ebrulfi*, in C³

^d Of Montuilliers, see above, p 119, note a.

70. To Robert, abbot of St. Évrault.^a[c. 1171] D², E

lxj Ad abbatem sancti Ebrulfi

fo 65^v.

Super his, pro quibus in sententiam commisisti, a memoria tua non credimus excidisse, quomodo mandato nostro stare promiseris, et preceptionibus obedire. Nos uero quibusdam ex causis adhuc formam distulimus assignare mandati, et modum satisfactionis imponere, quia in hac re ea ¹ temperantia uti uolumus, ut, quicquid fecerimus, ex sincera uideatur procedere caritate, et tu ad debitam humilitatem et obedientiam nostro prouocaris exemplo, dum tamen ecclesiastice institutionis disciplina seruetur, quantum tue et nostre salutis crediderimus expedire. Ne itaque res diutius hereat in suspenso, et quadragesimale tempus, quod extat, specialius est penitentiae dedicatum, fraternitati tue ea, qua teneris astrictus, necessitate mandamus, ut proxima iij^a feria, non presentis sed sequentis ebdomade, apud *Lexouum* nostro te conspectui representes, ut, adhibito religiosarum et prudentium ² personarum consilio, quod tibi mandandum fuerit auctore domino disponatur. Siquidem oportet nos conscientias nostras ad festa preparare paschalia, ut dominice resurrectionis esse participes per condignos fructus penitentiae debeamus.

He is ordered to appear at Lisieux, to fulfil the conditions of his submission.

71. To John of Naples.^b[? c. 1171.] C²

Ad Iohannem Neapolitanum, cardinalem.

fo 64

In multis ad presens sancte Romane ecclesie neccessarium nobis esset auxilium, sed quesitu labor[i]osum est, impetratu difficile, parum utile plerumque si fuerit impetratum. Siquidem de diebus in dies prauorum conualescit audacia, et impiorum singulis momentis inmanitas effertur, dum eos ab illicitis nec amor dei nec reuerentia cohibet, nec Romane ecclesie, cuius interest, disciplina coercet.

He needs help because of the boldness of the wicked.

¹ om, E² om et prudentium, E^a See above, p. xxxvii^b Cardinal-priest of St. Anastasia, see above, p. 29, note c

Eos igitur ad peccandum delictorum inuitat impunitas, et omnia sibi licere, que uiderint impunita, presumunt, adeoque apud eos ecclesia dei uersa est in conte[m]ptum, ut in rebus pessimis audeant etiam publice gloriari

Their criticism
of the Church
and of the pope

Insultant eis, qui Romane ecclesie maiestatem uenerantur et predicant, ipsisque procaciter impropere detrimenta que sustinent, cum nichil utilitatibus eorum de ipsius aspersione decrescat. Dicunt etiam eam his, qui ei propensius obsecuntur, ingrati, in tempore necessitatis oportere eam semper nouis beneficiis demereri, in humilium negotiis scrupulosam libidini potentium deseruire, in omnibus sequi retributiones, inclinari terroribus, et ab operibus iustitie facile qualibet persuasione desistere ¹

72. To Pope Alexander III.^a

[Early 1171.]

C—Bodleian, e
Mus 249 (S C
27835), Z—Brit
Mus, Cott Claud
B II; V—Vati-
can, Vat, lat
1220, O—Bod-
leian, Bodl 509
(S.C. 2672)

Henry's behavi-
our on hearing of
the murder of
Becket.

Alexandro papæ Ernulfus Lexoviensis episcopus post mortem Sancti Thomæ

Carissimo ² domino et patri Alexandro, Dei gratia catholice ecclesie summo pontifici, Arnulfus ³ Lexoviensis ecclesie humilis minister, salutem et debitam cum omni devotione obedientiam.

Cum, apud ⁴ regem nostrum pariter congregati, de magnis ecclesie regniue negotiis tractaturi crederemur, subitus nos de domino Cantuariensi rumor lamentabili moerore perfudit, adeo ut in momento securitas in stuporem, et consultationes in suspiria verterentur. Per aliquos enim ab Anglis ⁵ revertentes certa relatione didicimus, quod quidam inimici ejus, crebris, ut ajebant, exacerbationibus ad iracundiam et amentiam provocati, temere in eum irruptione facta, quod sine dolore dicere non possumus nec debemus, personam ejus aggredi et trucidare crudeliter perstiterunt. Ad regis demique notitiam rumor infaustus, quibusdam perferentibus, penetravit, quoniam ei non licuit ignorare quod ad ejus vindictam, jure potestatis et gladii, videbatur specialius pertinere. Qui statim,

¹ *interlined over* differi, MS

² Arnaldus, C

⁴ *add* dominum, Z

³ Carissimo obedientiam, C

⁵ Anglia, C, Anglis, V, O

^a See above, p. xlv. As this epistle occurs in none of the MSS of Arnulf's letters, it has been considered convenient to take it direct from Robertson, *Materials*, vii, 438, whose transcripts inspire great confidence

in primis nefandi sermonis initus, ad omnia lamentationum et miserationum genera conversus, regiam prorsus majestatem, quasi cilio immutans et cinere, multo fortius amicum exhibuit quam principem, stupens interdum, et post stuporem ad gemitus acriores et acerbiores amaritudines revolutus. Tribus fere diebus conclusus in cubiculo, nec cibum capere nec consolatores admittere sustinuit, sed moestitia perniciosiore¹ voluntariam sibi perniciem indicere pertinaciter videbatur. Miserabilis erat malorum facies, et anxia vicissitudo dolorum, quoniam qui sacerdotem lamentabamur primitus, de regis salute consequenter coepimus desperare, et in alterius nece miserabiliter utrumque credebamus² interisse. Porro querentibus amicis, et episcopis maxime, quod eum ad se redire non permetteret, respondit se metuere ne³ sceleris auctores et complices, veteris rancoris confidentia, impunitatem sibi criminis promississent; licet ipse novas inimicitias recentibus injuriis et frequentibus maleficis compararet, arbitrari se nominis sui famam et gloriam maledictis aemulorum⁴ respergi posse, et confingi id ex ejus conscientia processisse; sed omnipotentem Deum se testem invocare in animam suam, quod opus nefandum nec sua voluntate nec conscientia commissum est, nec artificio perquisitum, nisi forte in hoc delictum sit, quod adhuc minus diligere credebatur. Super hoc quoque se iudicio ecclesiae prorsus exponere, et humiliter suscepturum quidquid in eo fuerit salubriter statuendum. Communicato igitur⁵ consilio, in hoc universorum consultatio conquievit, ut sedis apostolicae sapientiam et auctoritatem consuleret, quam spiritu sapientiae, et potestatis plenitudine Christiana fides praedicat abundantius redundare, et apud eam suam studeat innocentiam modis legitimis et canonicis approbare.

Supplicamus ergo quatenus, secundum datum a Deo vobis spiritum consilii et fortitudinis, tanti sceleris auctoribus secundum facti immanitatem severitas vestra retribuatur, et suam innocentiam regi pietas apostolica in statu suo velit affectuosius conservare.

Omnipotens Deus personam vestram ecclesiae suae per multa tempora conservet incolumem

¹ pernitiore, C

² credebam, V, O.

³ om., C

⁴ aemulorum, C

⁵ sibi, C.

A word for
the king

73. To Master David.^a

[July 1171]

C*

fo 142^v

He deserves a reward

Arnulf is helping him

with Richard of Ilchester, and the king seems agreeable.

Royal plans

Suggested plans for David

Arnulfus, dei gratia Lexouensis episcopus, karissimo suo magistro David, Londoniensi, salutem

Vtinam utiliohem uobis titulum diuina gratia prescripsisset Londoniensem uos in litterarum presentium inscriptione predixi, quamuis ad uos ciuitas illa nec expugnatione pertineat sicut Affrica Scipioni, nec dominatione sicut sua Cesari Roma concessit. Titulum hunc uobis de sola minus utili natiuitate nouimus adtributum, sed utinam quandoque natiuitati et cognomini leto prouentu, si non hominum gratia saltem diuine bonitatis, occurrat

De cetero, quia amicorum est, cum ab inuicem absentes sunt, diligentiorum sui inuicem habere memoriam, et maius alternis utilitatibus studium adhibere, cum domino rege de uobis, adhibito archidiacono Pictauiensi,^b locutus sum, multisque tam meis quam illius petitionibus adqueunt, ut indilate uobis bonum seculare, quod habetis ab ipso,^c in beneficia ecclesiastica commutaret, cum eo etiam incremento quod ei diuine predestinatio bonitatis afferret.

Iturus in Angliam creditur,^d sed nichil adhuc ei de se, neque nobis de ipso certum potuit apparere, licet ad eundem proueniorem multa eum argumenta confirmant. Prouidete itaque quod uobis utilis uideritis expedire, et si uobis in partibus istis transitum eius expectare placuerit, certum uobis sit me uobis omnia, tanquam amico karissimo, non solum cum hylaritate, sed cum omni etiam desiderio prouisurum. Quod si reditum domini uestri usque ad gloriam restitutionis eius comitare decreueritis,^e sciatis quia uobis apud me ueritas amicitie ad omnes deuota perseuerabit euentus

^a For David's career, see Stubbs' introduction to *Diceto* (vol. 1, pp. li, seqq.) and Z. N. Brooke, 'The register of Master David of London' in *Essays in hist. pres. to R. Lane Poole*. Dr Brooke did not notice that Poupardin described the MS quite carefully in *Bibl. École des Chartes*, lxxiii (1902).

^b For Richard, see above, p. 93, note a. He had visited the pope at Frascati to obtain the remission of his sentence of excommunication, and rejoined the king in Normandy in June or July 1171 (Eyton). David, as legate of the bishop of London, had visited the pope at about the same time to secure Foliot's absolution and restoration (*Materials*, vii, 479 and 476).

^c On David's way to Rome (see previous note), Becket had reproached him for accepting an office from the king (*Materials*, vi, 617). See Brooke, *op. cit.*, for details of his rewards.

^d Henry returned to England on 1 August (Eyton).

^e Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London, received remission from excommunication at Chaumont on 1 August 1171 (*Diceto*, i, 347), but his suspension was not relaxed until May 1172 (*ibid.*, 351).

74. To Master David.^a[Summer 1171, before August.] C¹.

Arnulfus, dei gratia Lexouensis episcopus, magistro David, *fo* 143
karissimo suo, salutem cum plurimo perpetue dilectionis affectu

Noui dominum regem prudentie tue multis astrictum meritis, *The king has made promises,*
multis promissionibus obligatum, sed quantum michi de moribus *but the receiver must be on the spot.*
eius innotuit, necesse est promissiones eius indefessa sedulitate
prosequi, et se oculis eius in oportunitatibus frequenter offerre, ne
forte presentium instantia utilitates absentium anticipet uel auertat.
Sane, sicut credimus, in manus eius ad presens multa uentura sunt, *Therefore, come*
que sine mora distribui oportebit in multis,^b tibi que proculdubie
utile erit inter ceteros uel pre ceteris apparere. Siquidem presentia
tua poterit ueterem meritorum tuorum renouare memoriam, et ad
complendas circa te promissiones suas eum tum benignitas, tum
uerecundia, tum materia copiosa conducat.¹ Quod autem ad me
pertinet interim prouentui tuo, si fulserit occasio, promptus et
deuotus insistam

Scias autem me minorem de gratia ipsius optinere fiduciam, et a *Arnulf's position with the king is weaker.*
multo tempore multis indicis expertus sum, quia quotiens grau
aliqua necessitate compellitur, studiosius audit me, et consilio meo
in suis utilitatibus plenius adquiescit, sed in meis et meorum
necessitatibus non exaudit. Dispone igitur ad momentum que
disponenda uideris apud uos, et ad regem cum omni celeritate festina,
meoque, cum ueneris, utaris officio, tuusque nos et totam domum
nostram plurimum letificabit aduentus.

Salutat uos uester Nicholaus,^c et laudat ut cito ueniat

75. To Pope Alexander III.^d[Summer 1171] C¹.

Reuerentissimo domino et patri suo, *Alexandro*, dei gratia catholice *fo*. 57^o.
ecclesie summo pontifici, Arnulfus, Lexouensis ecclesie humilis
minister, salutem, et debitam cum omni deuotione obedientiam.

¹ perducet, *first hand*, MS

^a See preceding letter and notes.

^b As a result of Becket's exile, many ecclesiastical benefices were vacant

^c Archdeacon of Middlesex, cf *Materials*, vii, 275

^d See above, p. xlvii

On behalf of
Roger, arch-
bishop of York

Eboracensis archiepiscopi magnificentiam, sapientiam, et erga personam uestram et ecclesiam dei deuotionem, apud celsitudinem uestram commendare superuacuum ducere, si recentibus eius meritis et antiquis premia de pari cernerem respondere. Sed, quia maiestatem hominis magis de affectionibus suggerentium quam de rerum qualitatibus a beatitudine uestra doluimus estimari, ex libertate conscientie nostre nec uirtuti preconium, nec ueritati testimonium possimus denegare.

His services
during the
schism.

Vidimus eum et audiuius inter prima uestre receptionis incia, quando deuotio probari poterat et constantia perturbari, tanto zeli spiritusque sui feruore in agnitionem uestri nominis proclamare, ut, qui deuotionem eius minus nouerant, quod agebatur ausum precipitem et temeritatis uecordiam ducerent arbitrandum. Primus ante ceteros in Anglorum regno, in quo tunc, sicut et nunc, maximus habebatur, non sine persone periculo et facultatum dispendius et papatum uestre celsitudinis agnouit, et | scismatici pertinaciam, dum adhuc de scismate tractaretur, maledictione promptissima predampnauit, fidei catholice et unitatis ecclesiastice uexillum potissimus simul et primus inuexit, et dubitantibus animis et trepidantibus lucem ueritatis et libertatis fidutiam infudit preuius, et periculis obuius confirmauit.

fo. 58.

He has been
faithful even
when censured
by the pope

Nunc etiam, cum reuerterentur nunci regis,^a flagellatus a uobis, et qui posset desperare, a deuotione uestra nobilem animum non potuit continere; sed tanta constantia diligentiaque ad unitatem laborauit ecclesie, ut ex calamitate, quam non meruit, et atricione fides eius non decrescere sed magis accrescere¹ uideretur. Homo enim inuincibilis et bonitatis inexhauste, quem nec multiplices iniurie nec insperate contumelie, quas contra spem hominum equanimitersustinet, a uestra possunt gloria retardare. Potuit transgredi et non est transgressus, facere mala et non fecit; sed, sicut preuenit uos, in uirtute deuocionis [et] dulcedinis ita penam, quam non meruit, et persone sue contumeliam patienter sustinet, et equanimitersustinet, donec benignus² iracundie flagella propitiatus auertat, et misereatur eius, de cuius benefitus qui puniatur potius meruerat gloriari.

¹ accrescere *repeated*, MS. ² gap for one word in MS.

^a The nuncios whom Henry sent to Rome before and after the murder of Becket returned in June or July 1171 (Eyton), bearing the pope's confirmation of the sentences on the Anglican prelates, imposed as punishment for the coronation of the young Henry.

Omnipotens dominus personam uestram ecclesie sue per multa tempora conseruet incolumem.

76. To Sevinus, abbot of Cour-Dieu.^a

[End of 1171, or end of 1172.] *D*²; *E*, *C*³.

lxij Ad abbatem de Curia Dei.¹

fo 65^v.

Pro filio uestro F paternitati uestre gratias tota deuotione referimus, quod ita circa eum copiose caritatis uisceribus habundatis, ut ipsum tota diligentia religio uestra dirigat ad salutem, et in oportunitatibus suis paternum indulgentia largiatur affectum. | Elegit ² apud uos abiectus esse in domo dei sui, magis quam apud suos habitare in tabernaculis peccatorum, sed affectati ordinis austeritatem benignitatis uestre gratia releuat, et humilitatem abiectionis dignatio recompensat. Certum est cuius et in hoc et in aliis queratis gratiam promereri, sed licet salua sint uobis premia uestra, nostre ³ tamen ad gratiarum actiones affectio deuotionis accedit. Felicem ergo me, inquam, si unquam inueniar accepisse non ingratis, si datum michi fuerit aliquid quandoque rependere uestrorum excellentie meritorum

Praise of and thanks for the abbot's messenger

fo 66

[De cetero, de negotio quoque trahitur ad presens; nichil fieri poterit donec ad natiuitatem domini rex iunior in Normanniam de Andegauia reuertatur ^b Assistemus tunc et alii nobiscum, quibus idem negocium cordi est, et prouentum utilem de domini regis Francorum interuentione | speramus ^c Collocauimus interim eum

fo 60.
No business can be done until Henry III returns to Normandy at Christmas
fo 60^v.

¹ No address, *C*³

² Elegerat, *C*³

³ uestre, *C*³.

^a Cistercian house in the diocese of Orleans

^b Henry III celebrated the feast of Christmas in 1171 at Bur-le-Roi, near Bayeux (Torigni, p 253). He also celebrated Christmas in 1172 in Normandy, but he came from France and not from Anjou. Henry II, however, kept Christmas in Anjou (Benedict, I, 34-5), and the young Henry may have visited him after the king of France.

^c These negotiations may be quite innocent, but as the letter can be dated December 1172 it is difficult to avoid the suspicion that Arnulf is negotiating with the parties which combined against Henry II in the war of 1173. We know that Arnulf owed his downfall to his ambiguous actions at this time (see above, p 11), and it is perhaps significant that the incriminating part of this letter was suppressed in the regular edition. If this suspicion is correct, the letter suggests a reason for Arnulf's complicity. The abbot of Cour-Dieu may have been acting for Theobald V, count of Blois and Chartres, who supported the young Henry and King Louis in 1173, and we know that Arnulf was bound by many ties to the family of Blois-Champagne (see above, p. xiv).

Arnulf has
lodged the
messenger

et fratrem, qui cum eo est, in monasterio quodam ordinis uestri quod iuxta nos est,^a ubi interim nichil oportebit eis de ordinis sui uel temporis obseruantia deperire]¹

77. To Stephen de la Chapelle, bishop of Meaux.^b

D², E, C³

[1171.]

fo 55ⁿ

Report on a case concerning the church of Marines between Garner, a priest, and Hugh, abbot of St Vincent, Senlis.

lij. Ad dominum papam Alexandrum.²

Causam,³ que inter uenerabilem fratrem Hugonem, beati Uncentii Siluanectensis abbatem,^c et Garnerum⁴ sacerdotem super ecclesia de Marinis^d uertebatur, domino Henrico Siluanectensi episcopo^e et nobis apostolica delegauit auctoritas, infra spatium duorum mensum, remota⁵ appellatione, ordine iudiciario decidendam.

Nos uero utrique parti infra tempus nobis assignatum, locum et tempus prefiximus oportunum; et, adhibitis nobiscum religiosis et prudentibus personis, scilicet Sancti Victoris Parisiensis^f et Sancte Genouefe^g et Augensi^h et de Mortuo Mariⁱ abbatibus,

¹ C³ adds *this unique passage*

² Uenerabili et dilecto patri et amico Stephano, dei gratia Meldensi episcopo, Arnulfus Lexouiensis humilis minister, salutem cum plurimo sincere caritatis affectu, C³ ³ Causa, C³. ⁴ Garin', E ⁵ sine, C³

^a The abbey of Le Val-Richer, a house favoured by Arnulf, and to which he had granted a charter in 1179 (A du Monstier, *Neustria pia* (Rouen, 1663), p 828) It was situated in the exemption of Cambremer, part of the diocese of Bayeux

^b Chancellor of Sens and of Paris, bishop of Meaux 1162, archbishop of Bourges 1171 The address in MSS D² and E, Pope Alexander, is an evident mistake

^c Hugh, abbot of the Austin monastery of St Vincent, Senlis, 1163-89 St Vincent had been a daughter house of St Victor, Paris (see note f), since 1138 (G C, x, *instr* col 1495)

^d Marines, 19 kms NW of Pontoise The abbot of St Vincent was patron in 1337 (A Longnon, *Pouillés de la province de Rouen* Paris, 1903).

^e Henry, bishop of Senlis, 1168-85

^f Ernest, abbot of the Austin convent of St Victor, Paris, who was deposed in 1172 for financial malpractices See note c

^g Hugh, abbot of Ste Geneviève-du-Mont, Paris, another house of canons-regular

^h The Austin abbey of Notre-Dame at Eu in the diocese of Rouen, another daughter house of St. Victor, Paris Abbot Roger I occurs between 1148 and 1161, and Osbert between 1175 and 1191

ⁱ For the Cistercian abbey of Mortemer, and Arnulf's connexions with it, see above, p xvi, n. 5, and below, p 179. The abbot at this time was Geoffrey de la Chaussée.

Gaufrido quoque Autissiodorensi^a et Ricardo¹ de Curceo,^b et Ricardo tunc Constantiensi archidiacono nunc Abrincensi episcopo,^c multisque aliis tota fide et diligentia mandatis apostolicis studium obedire.

Abbas igitur, qui actoris | in ea causa fungebatur officio et posses- fo. 56.
sorium in sacerdotem iudicium intendebat, super questione facti multorum testimonius usus est, ac tandem septem preelectos testes, v scilicet sacerdotes, regulares canonicos, et duos alios presbiteros, experientie nostre proposuit; quos, diligenti examinationi subiectos, in omnium prorsus inuenimus testificatione concordēs.

Auditis quoque nichilominus allegationibus sacerdotis, ei² dicendi in personas testium quod uellet fecimus potestatem; sed, multis propositis et attente discussis, nichil inuentum est per quod aliquem eorum repellere posset, uel existimationi alicuius in aliquo derogare. Receptis itaque septem pretaxatorum testium iuramentis, abbati possessionem ecclesie restituiimus, quia usum nobis est debere de ueritate tot taliumque testium assertionem constare. Sacerdos autem nichilominus audientiam Romani pontificis appellauit; sed, quia refugium appellationis de causa apostolica auctoritate sublatum erat, sicut prudentia uestra³ nouit, nec ipse de iure appellare potuit,⁴ neque nos debuimus exaudire, dominoque Rothomagensi archiepiscopo, in cuius diocesi⁵ predicta ecclesia constituta est, ea, qua

¹ Ric, E, C³.

² om, C³

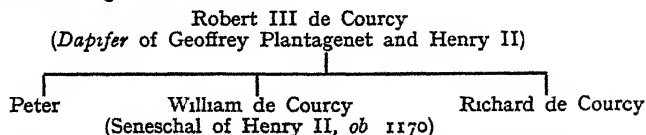
³ uest pru, E

⁴ pot de iure, E

⁵ deocesi, D²

^a Geoffrey d'Auxerre was secretary to St Bernard and abbot of several houses including Clairvaux

^b From a genealogy given by G. A. Simon, 'Charte de Richard de Courcy (1242) pour l'abbaye de N-D d'Aunay (Calvados) et généalogie de la famille de Courcy', *Bulletin de la Soc des Antiquaires de Normandie*, xxxvii (1926), 433-48, the following details are taken



Robert III also had a younger brother named Richard, the fourth son of Robert II. But, as Robert II had produced eight sons by 1109, it is unlikely that it is his Richard who concerns us here

^c Bishop of Avranches 1170 (Tornig, p 247) or 1171 (Gams, *Series episcoporum*)

fungebamur, auctoritate mandauimus, ut, sicut a nobis iudicatum erat, inuolabiliter faceret obseruari, et ipse prudenter, prout decuit, adqueuit, sicut ex litteris eius promptum est intueri. Verum, quia audiuimus sacerdotem niti refricare quod factum est, ad ¹ postulationem ² abbatis apud celsitudinem uestram ueritatis ³ testimonium perhibemus nos scilicet quale proposuimus ab apostolica maiestate suscepisse mandatum, et ea ratione, quam diximus, et ordine terminasse.

78. To Pope Alexander III.

D², E, C³

[c. 1171]

fo. 67.

Report on a case between two clerks, William and Matthew, concerning the church of Goderville.

lx(v). Ad dominum papam Alexandrum ⁴

Causam, que inter Willelmum sacerdotem et Matheum clericum ⁵ uertebatur super ecclesia de Godaruilla, ⁶ ^a maiestas uestra paruitati nostre delegauit sine appellationis obstaculo canonicè decidendam

Vtraque itaque parte in nostra presentia constituta, proposuit Willelmus se predictam ecclesiam legitime possedissee, et postmodum se per uolentiam absque omni iudicio spoliatum, et ideo ⁷ restitutionem possessionis cum magna a nobis instantia postulabat. Ad probationem uero possessionis, ⁸ quam petebat, quatuor deposuit sacerdotes, quorum unus inutilis, tres reliqui satis concordés in examinatione reperti sunt.

At Matheus ipsum aliquando possedissee constantissime pernegauit, ipsumque coram delegatis ⁹ a sublimitate uestra iudicibus, ¹⁰ domino scilicet Rothomagensi, ¹¹ qui tunc Ebroicensi ecclesie preerat, et domino Egidio nunc Ebroicensi, qui tunc in Rothomagensi ecclesia

¹ om, C³ ² postulatione, in *expunged*, C³ ³ ueritati, s *expunged*, C³.

⁴ Reuerentissimo domino et patri suo karissimo, *Alexandro*, dei gratia catholice ecclesie summo pontifici, *Arnulfus*, *Lexouiensis* ecclesie humilis minister, salutem et deuotam obedientiam, C³

⁵ om, C³ ⁶ Godaruilla, E ⁷ add ad, E

⁸ om cum magna . possessionis, E. ⁹ delegato, C³.

¹⁰ iudici, C³ ¹¹ Rotrodo, E.

^a Goderville, 13 kms south of Fécamp, pertaining to the abbot of Fécamp in 1337 (Longnon, *Pouillés de Rouen*).

archidiaconi fungebatur officio,^{1 a} super eadem ecclesia questionem mouisse dixit, et nouissime eidem questioni coram eis ² abrenunciasset publice, et eandem ecclesiam abiurasse, et xl. solidos pro recompensatione expensarum, quas fecerat, accepisse Super quo sacerdotem et accolitum et laicum quendam proposuit ad probandum, qui et ipsi in examinatione concordēs inuenti sunt, idque predictis iudicibus³ et toti ecclesie Rothomagensi notissimum, quia hoc coram tota fere uniuersitate fuerat celebratum |

Quia ergo preiudicare uidebatur abiurationis exceptio, neque *fo. 67^v* nobis satis certam fidem eorum, qui producti erant, testificatio faciebat, duximus differendum, donec per iudices,⁴ quibus ⁵ causa delegata fuisse dicebatur, et uenerabiles personas, que asserebantur nichilominus affuisse, ueritatis nobis posset innotescere plenitudo

Porro cum ipsi mecum ad domini archiepiscopi presentiam conuenissent, et ego ab eo ueritatis testimonium diligenter exigerem, Willelmus, non expectato testimonio eius, ad primam dominicam aduentus domini uestram audientiam appellauit Ego uero, quia nolens agere cogi non poterat, et ad preces eius ipsiusque fauore uidebatur sublatum ⁶ appellationis obstaculum,⁷ ad lesionem eius retorquere non debui; sed alio, sicut fuerat, in possessione dimisso, litteras utrique requisitas tradidi, per quas eorum, que apud nos acta sunt,⁸ ueritas uestre possit innotescere maiestati.

79. To Pope Alexander III.^b

Ad dominum papam Alexandrum ⁹

[c. 1171.] D^a; C³

Causam, que inter Hermerium sacerdotem et abbatem de Cultura ^c

fo. 57^v

¹ om et domino Egidio

officio, C³

² eo, C³

³ predicto iudici, C³

⁴ iudicem, C³

⁵ cui, C³.

⁶ sub uid, C³

⁷ add hoc, C³

⁸ que acta sunt apud nos, E

⁹ Domino pape Lexouiensis episcopus, C³.

^a Rotrou, 1165, and Giles in 1170 The case, therefore, was heard previously before 1165, and the date of the present letter is after 1170 It is strange that C³ should omit all the references to Giles' participation in the business

^b For the importance of this letter, see above, pp lxxiv, seqq

^c Laurence, abbot of the Benedictine house of La Couture in the diocese of Le Mans

Report on a case
between Her-
merius, a priest,
and Laurence,
abbot of La Cou-
ture concerning
the church of
Brûlon

super diminutione presbiteratus ecclesie de Bruslun ^a uertebatur, maiestas uestra paruitati nostre delegauit ordine iudiciario deciden-
dam

Proposuit itaque Hermerius presbiter presbiteratum predictę ecclesie, quem gerebat ab abbate, per uolentiam decurtari, sibiue integritatem eius restitui, sicut antecessores eius possederant, instanter exegit, proposita ad probationem testium multitudine, in quibus neccessitas aut ratio postularet

The reply of
the abbot

Abbas uero inter antecessorem suum ^b et Geruasium, predeces-
sorem Hermerii, super eadem re controuersiam extitisse respondit, causamque a presentia domini Cenomannensis ^c ad audientiam Turo-
nensis archiepiscopi ^d per appellationem fuisse translatam, ibique litigium omne compositione amicali diffinitum Super quo litteras domini archiepiscopi exhibuit, formam transactionis plenius conti-
nentes, [ipsius nimirum sigillo et iij^{or} abbatum aliorumque testium multitudine roboratas. Adiecit etiam litteras maiestatis uestre, pre-
dictam compositionem, sicut apud archiepiscopum facta est, plenarie confirmantes, quas secundum rationem date citra duorum mensium spatium a uestra beatitudine cognouimus impetratas porro litteras domini archiepiscopi secundum numerum annorum diuine incarna-
tionis, qui eisdem litteris continetur ascriptus, a quinque annis intelleximus fuisse compositas, ipsumque Hermerium post trans-
actionem factam, defuncto predecessore suo Geruasio, concessione huius abbatis ecclesiam percepisse; ubi, si quid unquam pres-
biteratu quocumque modo detractum fuerat, asseruit sibi ab abbate, assistantibus ei priore, preposito et sacrista, coram episcopo Cenomannensi plenarie restitutum, seque presbiteratum absque omni diminutione de expressa abbatis concessione et episcopi nimirum donatione recepisse, adacto etiam publice iuramento de episcopi mandato et abbatis uoluntate, quod nichil umquam de presbiteratus integritate dimitteret, sed ipsum, sicut accipiebat, tota diligentia conseruaret. Abbas autem antecessores eius nichil ultra iure presbiteratus aliquando percepisse, quam litteris archi-
episcopi continetur, ipsumque Hermerium, cum ei in capitulo mona-
chorum concederetur ecclesia, nichil se amplius exacturum iuramenti etiam religione firmasse.

fo 6r.
Hermerius.

Verum Hermerius nichil se in capitulo monachorum | nisi fide-

^a *Brullonius*, Brûlon, pertaining to La Couture in 1508 (Longnon, *Pouillés*)
See also Round, *Calendar*, p 364

^b Geoffrey I

^c Wilham de Passavant.

^d Joscus

litatem monasterii iurasse respondit, seque, postea quam in capitulo monachorum fuerat, presbiteratum integrum ab episcopo et abbate, sicut dictum est, recepisse, totumque, quod antea factum fuerat, nouissima¹ uoluntate abbatis, episcopi auctoritate et nouissimi¹ iuramenti religione sublatum. Quod cum abbas constantissime pernegasset,² Hermerius se probationibus habundare proposuit, quas oportuno tempore nobis, si cause necessitas requireret, exhiberet.

Abbas quoque nichil antecessores eius habuisse preter quod in litteris archiepiscopi continetur expressum, ipsumque iurasse nichil se ulterius exacturum, instantissime contendebat, seque id, si expediret, oportuno tempore sufficienti testimonio probaturum.

Nos itaque, auditis omnibus, litteris maiestatis uestre duximus deferendum, quia nostrum non est de litteris sublimitatis apostolice iudicare; ideoque ad noticiam uestram cuncta referimus, ut litigium omne uestra consum[m]et auctoritas, et finem laboribus utriusque partis clementer imponat; rescripta quoque litterarum uestrarum et archiepiscopi Turonensis uobis nichilominus transmittenda censuimus, quibus inspectis, certius quid statuendum sit uestra sapientia recognoscat. Ceterum ipsos interim possidere precepimus, nulla sibi inuicem irrogata iniuria, sicut appellationis tempore possidebant; ipsosque prima dominica aduentus domini precepimus ad executionem cause uestro conspectui presentari.]³

The abbot

As papal letters
are in question
Arnulf remits
the case to
the pope

80. To Henry de Sully, abbot of Fécamp.^a

[c 1171.] D², E, C²

lxiiij. Ad Henricum, Fiscannensem abbatem.⁴

fo 66v.

Credimus prudentiam uestram fidei memoria retinere causam, que inter uos et latorem presentium pauperem uertebatur, apostolica nobis olim auctoritate commissam. Nos uero in hoc, sicut in alius, dilecte nobis, gratie uestre obsequium prouius exhibentes, ipsum de magna summa uobiscum pro modico transigere fecimus, et, ut modicum illud utilius in futuro perciperet, ad uestram per

Complains that
after he, as
judge, has per-
suaded a claimant
to settle for a
small sum,
Henry withholds
the money

¹ nouissime, *first hand*, MS

² pronegasset, MS.

³ C² adds this unique passage

⁴ Venerabili et dilecto patri et amico, Henrico, Fiscannensi abbati, Arnulfus, Lexouiensis ecclesie humilis minister, salutem et plurimam dilectionem, C²

^a For Henry, see above, p. 28, note b.

or pays with
poor coin

fo 67.

The man will
make trouble
for both if he is
not satisfied

omnia descendere ¹ uoluntatem Ipse uero iamdudum miserabilibus nos lamentis infestat, asserens quod placitum transactionis uestra ei magnificentia subtrahat, nec sanctitatem uestram in aliquo moueat uel miseria pauperis uel ueritas pactionis Quod, si quid aliquando forte ² solutum est post multas fatigationes et tempora, semper uel specie | uilius fuit uel deterius qualitate

Super quo rogamus uos, et obnixis precibus obsecramus, quatinus in hoc honori suo ³ et iusticie pauperis et molestie nostre gloria uestra provideat, eique quod sub tanta uenerabilium personarum celebritate promissum est, non solum fideliter sed etiam liberaliter tribui faciatis, ne forte homo uagus et pertinax ad subsidium maiestatis apostolice recurrere compellatur, communem de nobis et uobis querimoniam portans, scilicet quod mandatum eius a nobis minus fideliter adimpletum sit, et a uobis fides transactionis minus ueraciter obseruata ⁴

81. To the abbot and chapter of Cîteaux.

D¹; E, C³

[? c. 1171] ^a

fo 66

lx(uj). Ad abbatem Cisterciensem ⁵

Two priests of
the diocese of
Lisieux entered
the monastery
of Le Valasse by
the advice of the
abbot of Le Pin

Duo sacerdotes episcopatus nostri, ⁶ Arn' uidelicet et Ricardus, seculo renunciare disponentes, ammonitione frequenti et studio fratris nostri Willelmi, nunc abbatis de Pinu, ^b ad uenerabilem et religiosum uirum, Ricardum abbatem de Valascia, ^c refutatis prius ⁷

¹ descendere, C³

² om, C³

³ glossed uestro, C³

⁴ add Valet, C³

⁵ Ad capitulum Cisterciense, E, Abbati Cisterciensi et sanctis capituli loci eiusdem, C³

⁶ de episcopatu nostro, E

⁷ om, E

^a This letter raises a difficulty, for Richard de Blosseville was abbot of Le Valasse from 1157 to 1174, and William, 'now' abbot of Le Pin, was the first to hold that office, and was elected about 1142, occurs in 1162, and two abbots have followed him by c. 1172 (G C). If *tunc* can be read for *nunc* in line 3, the position is more satisfactory, unless *nunc* is used very vaguely. William, however, may be a hitherto unrecorded abbot. The date given is that suggested by the position of the letter on the MSS.

^b William I, de Forgis; Cistercian house of Le Pin in the arrondissement and diocese of Portiers, a daughter house of Pontigny.

^c Richard de Blosseville, 1157-74 abbot of the Cistercian house of Le Valasse, near to Lillebonne in the diocese of Rouen, later abbot of Mortemer, and a friend of Arnulf's (see ep. no. 117).

in manu nostra quas possederant ecclesius, se et sua deuotione promptissima contulerunt. Quorum nos deuotionem fauore debito prosequentes, intuitu abbatis de Valascia, qui ob sincere religionis et industrie sue meritum plurima nobis caritate deuinctus est, rationum obligationes et cetera, quibus nobis tenebantur obnoxii, quoniam officiales nostri fuerant, sine omni difficultate remisimus, et eos in predicto monasterio, deo perpetuo seruituros, cum facultatibus suis in manum abbatis liberos et absolutos consignauimus

Postmodum uero, cum deuoti monasterii probationem ingressuri sperarentur, abbas de Pinu ad aliud, uoluntate deuocata, opus, cuius auctor prius uehementissimus extiterat, uehementiore studio dissuasit, obiciens quod unus eorum, antequam etiam pubertatis annos attigisset,¹ sua persuasione² in monasterio de Chaelix^a publicum religionis uotum sollemniter nuncupauerat, promissione quoque adiecta, quod eam non mutaret nec reuocaret in posterum uoluntatem. Qua occasione, prudentibus et religiosis uiris plurimum admirantibus, deuotum | pariter et indeuotum abduxit, cum ea procul dubio ratione, qua alterum extrahere³ nitebatur, alter in deuotionis sue monasterio perpetuo permittendus⁴ fuerat commorari. Porro abbas de Valascia, utpote uir longanimis et multe mansuetudinis, suas et⁵ monasterii sui usque ad sanctum uniuersitatis uestre conuentum prosequi⁶ distulit iniurias, sperans profecto, si quid perperam actum est, sine subterfugio reformandum, ubi⁷ nec excusatio ueritatem impedit, nec cupiditas equitatem

Ego uero, quod ad ecclesiam meam pertinet, nulla dissimulare ualeo ratione; quoniam unus eorum, de quorum reuocatione tractatur, Arn' uidelicet, librum quendam, quem ecclesie sue parrochianorum collatio deuota contulerat, consilio et ministerio abbatis de Pinu pignori pro iij. libris Andegauensium obligauit, quamuis ego sub anathemate prohibuissem,⁸ ne id ipsum⁹ faceret, uel¹⁰ quicquam de rebus ecclesie¹¹ sine conscientia mea presumeret asportare. Quoniam ergo, sepius commonitus et requisitus, librum ecclesie sue non restituit, eum excommunicatum, et ab omni sacerdotalis officii ministerio suspensum, donec de sacrilegio satisfecerit, noueritis emigrasse.

Later the abbot of Le Pin claimed that one of them in his youth had made his vows to the abbey of Chaelis,

and wrongly removed them both
fo 66r

The abbot of Le Valasse appealed to the chapter of Cîteaux

Arnulf is interested because one of them has retained a book from his church, and pawned it by the advice of the abbot of Le Pin

¹ tetigisset, C³ ² perseueratione, C³ ³ trahere, C³ ⁴ cogendus, C³

⁵ om, C³. ⁶ persequi, C³ ⁷ ut, C³ ⁸ prohiberem, C³

⁹ om, E ¹⁰ nec, ⁷ over et asion, E ¹¹ add sue, E

^a Cistercian house of Chaelis, near Ermenonville in the diocese of Senlis
L.A.L. P

82. To Peter of Pavia, bishop of Meaux.^aC³

[1171-3]

fo 69^v

Uenerabili et dilecto patri, Petro, dei gratia Me[1]densi episcopo Arnulfus, Lexouensis ecclesie humilis minister, salutem cum prompto sincere caritatis affectu

He detained his messenger while copies (of his letters) were being prepared.

Puerum uestrum aliquandiu non sine magna illius molestia meaque detinui, quia paratum non erat ut mitterem quod uestra dignatio postulabat. Conquisitis igitur exemplaribus, feci cum quanta potui festinatione contrascrberi, meque ad celerandum semper et scriptores urgendos ipsa pueri presentia frequentius inuitabat. Rogabat instantius, michique, si dimitteretur, ad assignatum tempus reditum promittebat; sed uertus sum ne impotentia mea apud uos in suspicionem negligentie cederet, nec ipsum fortassis aliquando redire uestra uerecundia sustineret. Itaque congregatas quas potui, me presente, censui corrigendas, ne forte manum obfuset.

Sentiments of obligation

Legite itaque, et intra domesticum conscientie uestre secretum artius continete, quia, si in publicas¹ manus inciderint, de prouectionis iudicio non confidunt. Apud uos iudicant sibi tutius experrri, quia nulla audacia ad conspectum uestre maiestatis ascendere presumpsissent, nisi eas uestre dignationis uocatio preuenisset. Vocate ueniunt, seque sperant obsequio gratiam promereri, quia quantum odii presumptio, tantum uerecundia fauoris acquirit. Ceterum plurimas benigne existimationi uestre gratias refero, quod | aliquid inuenire apud me dignum uestra cognitione putatis, michique optatum referent impense diligentie fructum, si quid apparuerit, quod uestre debeat sapientie complacere.

fo. 70.

¹ publicas, MS

^a For a discussion of this letter, see above, p lxxxii. Peter was archdeacon of Pavia, canon of Notre-Dame of Chartres, and abbot of St André of Chartres, perhaps still a house of canons-regular. He became bishop-elect of Meaux 1171, cardinal-priest of St Chrysogonus 1173, legate in France 1174-8, bishop of Tusculum 1179, archbishop-elect of Bourges 1180, and died in 1182. Delehaye has published two important studies of his career (*Revue des questions hist.*, vols xlix and li, 1891, 1892), but Luchaire remained convinced that Peter was a Victorine ('*Etudes sur quelques manuscrits de Rome et de Paris*', in *Bibl. Fac. Lettres, Univ Paris* (1899), p 63). Also see above, pp xviii and liv.

It is not certain whether he gave up his bishopric on becoming a cardinal, but Arnulf, who knew him well, would certainly have used his greater title had this letter been later than 1173. There is another Peter, bishop of Meaux in 1175, who only held the see for a year, but the dates of the other letters on the MS. militate against this ascription.

83. To Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter.^a[Early 1172] D², E, C³.lx. Ad Bartholomeum, Exoniensem episcopum ¹

fo 64.

Lator presentium, Iordanus uester, apud nos ² pluribus adolescentie sue diebus ³ commoratus est, ut in ecclesia nostra ⁴ diuinis informaretur officiis, et inter scolares liberalibus posset instrui disciplinis. Complacuit in eo fratribus nostris et nobis uerecunda sollertia, et quod prime rudimenta uirtutis spem bonam de reliquo promittebant, adiuncto quod suau quadam et iocunda uoce inter psallentes in ecclesia ad deuotionem posset indurata etiam uiscera commouere.

The bearer of the letter has been a satisfactory pupil of the cathedral school at Lisieux, and has a beautiful voice.

Reuersus ad terram natuitatis sue, acceptum se uobis extitisse gauisus est, adeo ut uestra eum beneficis gratia subleuaret, et ad subdiaconatus ordinem promoueret. Postmodum ad cismarinas partes, trahente eum nescio qua oportunitate, regressus, reliquos ordines sine uestra licentia et concessione percepit, ratus super eo, quod non de presumptione sed simplicitate commissum est, benignitatem uestram non adeo commouendam. Vestra uero seueritas ipsum a minus caute perceptorum ordinum administratione suspendit, adiuncta, sicut asserit, terribili comminatione, quod a uobis scilicet restituendus non sit, nisi hoc ei a maiori fuerit auctoritate concessum. Ad cardinales igitur per labores multos et pericula magna | peruenit, ^b sed ipsi nichil ei indulgere uoluerunt, nisi prius de ueritate facti uestrarum docerentur testimonio litterarum. Dicunt etiam se nichil scripturos in Angliam, nisi prius cum domino rege fuerint collocti, quod, qua consideratione decreuerint, nos nescimus.

On his return Bartholomew made him sub-deacon, but later, abroad, he took the other orders without Bartholomew's permission

Bartholomew suspended him.

The cardinals would do nothing, fo 64^a.

Supplicamus nos interim, et, antiquiore preuentum gratia, ⁵ gratia perseuerante, prosequimur, ut ei apud uos nostra prosit oratio, quatenus aut ratio sustinere debuerit aut misericordia ⁶ subuenire

and Arnulf begs for his pardon.

¹ Uenerabili et dilecto patri et amico, B, dei gratia Exoniensi episcopo, Arnulfus, Lexouensis ecclesie humilis minister, salutem, C³ ² uos, E

³ add aliquandiu, C³, aliquamdiu expunged, D² ⁴ uestra, E

⁵ om preuentum gratia, E, om gratia, C³, the second gratia in D² was written after the scribe had started on the next word ⁶ omit, leaving gap, C³

^a 1161-82.

^b The legates Albert, cardinal-priest of St Laurence in Lucina, and Theodwin, cardinal-priest of St Vitalis, who were sent to reconcile Henry with the Church and arrange the conditions after the murder of Becket, arrived in Normandy about January 1172 (Eyton), when Henry was in Ireland.

84. To the cardinals John of Naples and William of Pavia.^aD²; E, C³

[Early 1172]

fo. 5r.

xlvi] Ad Iohannem et Willelmum cardinales pro Rogero Eboracensi archiepiscopo.¹The services of
Roger, arch-
bishop of York

Qua fide, quo studio, quo effectu circa initia tempestatis istius ad unitatem ecclesie et honorem Romani pontificis dominus Eboracensis intenderit, uestra, qui ex magna parte uidistis et audistis, prudentia non ignorat

Meruit excedentem gratiam excedens strenui propugnatoris audacia, sibi que inuicem frequentibus officis tam operum magnificentia quam rerum munificentia concurrerunt Presumebat non defuturam gratiam perseuerantie meritorum, sed iam pristina, perseuerantibus meritis, gratia non refulget, uerum in penam quoque conuersa est ipsorum expectatio premiorum Perseuerat² semper, et, alius tepescentibus, ipsius deuotio non tepescit, quia uidet totam nondum conquiesse malitiam, et ab his, quorum fides inuictissima credebatur, prophana consilia, percussis etiam federibus, agitari Vtinam ad noticiam Romani pontificis et uestram relatione ueridica perueniret, quantum nouiter apud principem nostrum, regem loquor Anglorum,³ catholici sacerdotis industria sancta profecit, cum eum scilicet ad scisma maximi quoque principum inuarent, ipsumque metus seueritatis apostolice perterreret.

His absolution
at Aumâle

Siquidem uirtus eius precipue, nobis nimirum et aliis annitentibus, eum in fide et obedientia ecclesie confirmauit, seque Romano pontifici pariturum, super eo casu quem audistis, quantum dictauerit ratio uel laxauerit misericordia, coram multis ecclesiasticis secularibusque personis, publice in manu Rotho-

¹ Uenerabili patri suo et amico karissimo, Iohanni, dei gratia sancte Romane ecclesie presbitero cardinali, Arnulfus, *Lexouensis* ecclesie humilis minister, salutem cum omni sincere dilectionis affectu, C³

² add tamen, E.

³ loq reg. Ang, C³

^a For the letter, see above, p xlvii Robertson has misplaced it in *Materials*, vii, 494. For the cardinals, see p 29, note c, and p xviii William had been one of the commissioners for the reconciliation of Henry and Becket from August 1167 (*Materials*, vi, 232) until the summer of next year (*ibid*, 481).

magensis archiepiscopi, fide corporaliter interueniente, firmavit ^a
 Porro ipse ad usitandam Romanam ecclesiam plurimo iamdudum ^{He would visit the pope,}
 desiderio tractus est, ut ope et consilio uestro motum maiestatis apostolice, si quem | aduersus eum de falsa suggestionem contraxit, ^{fo 51^v.}
 reuocaret in gratiam, ipsique et uobis in omnibus sinceritatem
 conscientie sue certissimis indicis approbaret Accingebatur iam,
 cum a rege ipso ¹ et nuntius eius, qui nouiter a uobis reuersi sunt, ^{but the emperor forbids.}
 terribile percepit inditium, imperatorem scilicet ipsum singulariter
 excepisse, cum ² alius interuentu regis securitatem transitus indul-
 geret, quia scilicet presumpserat in personam eius anathematis
 intorquere sententiam, et nomen eius in omnibus, quos frequenter
 celebrauerat, conuentibus ecclesiasticis infamare.^b

Prouidete itaque amico uestro, nec illum ad partes illas aliqua ^{Help required.}
 neccessitatis instantia trahi, neque capud eius tot tantisque periculis
 permittatis exponi. Ad hec, bonum est ecclesie dei uiros fideles ^{Such men should be kept faithful}
 iuxta infideles aliquando commorari, ut ipsorum uirtute et prudentia
 malitia reprimi possit, et inconstantia contineri. Profecto apud
 nos preualuisse credebatur iniquitas,³ nisi sacerdotum industria
 restitisset, per quos repressa uiriliter intemperantia requieuit; ⁴ et
 ad unitatem, quos uelut in fugam terror ecclesiastice potestatis
 impulerat, sunt reuersi.

Nundum tamen nauim nostram portum perfecte securitatis ^{A plea for peace.}
 credimus optinere, quin adhuc et anchora possit de percepta statione
 conuelli, et nauis ipsa rursus ad procellas pristinas flatu malicie
 reuocari. Vtilius ergo fore credimus eos, qui prouidere possunt,
 non amoueri, sed ad sollertem uigiles adhibere custodiam, ut quos-
 libet euentus prudenter et instanter obseruent, et momentaneam
 hominum fidem neccessaria stabilitate confirment. Ad quod uirum,
 de quo scribimus, multis experimentis nouimus efficacem, eique ad
 referendas uobis gratiarum actiones maiorem deuotio quam uexatio
 tribuet intellectum.

¹ suo, E² add ipse, C³³ credebantur iniquitates, C³⁴ conqueunt, E

^a He was suspended on 1 December 1170 (Eyton) for the part he played in the coronation of the young Henry (Diceto, i, 340, *Materials*, vii, 399) The absolution took place in November or December 1171 at Aumale (Diceto, i, 348; cf *Materials*, vii, 498-505)

^b Cf. *Materials*, vii, 499

85. To the legates, Albert and Theodwin.^aD^a; E, C³

[Summer 1172]

fo 64

He is returning
their mandate
because he sus-
pects it to be
forged

lvij. Ad legatos Albertum et Theodinum¹

Lator presentium, Roaldus, litteras michi uestre sublimitatis attulit, quas ego inspectas diligentius de falsitate suspectas habui, quia in parte soloecismum habere, in parte contra consuetudinem uestram aliquid precipere uidebantur^b Ipsum itaque cum eisdem litteris ad uos censui remittendum, ne circa executionem mandati uestri negligentie uel temeritatis argui possim, sed quid fieri uelit, planius me et plenius instruatis

Also the business
would be incon-
venient as he is
in remote parts

Vtile autem esset huic ad alium iudicem mitti, apud quem de proximo posset commodius experiri, quia ego propter quasdam necessarias causas in locis remotioribus his diebus longiorem moram habere disposui,^c atque ei difficile et nimis sumptuosum esset ibi necessarie instructionis copiam exhibere²

86. To Cardinal William of Pavia.^dD^a, E, C³

[Summer 1172.]

fo 67^v

Compliments.

lxvi. Ad dominum³ Willelmum de Papia cardinalem⁴

Quantam michi gratiam in oculis uestris ab antiquo bonitas diuina contulerit, prestita frequentius beneficia comprobarunt Et ego quidem toto animo gratus extiti, sed maiestatem dignationis uestre non potuit debiti operis exhibitio compensare Felicem

¹ Uenerabilibus et dilectis dominis et patribus suis, Alberto et Theodino, sancte Romane ecclesie presbiteris cardinalibus et legatis, Arnulfus, Lexouensis ecclesie humilis minister, salutem cum omni sincera caritatis affectu, C³

² add Valet, C³

³ om, E

⁴ No address, C³

^a See note to ep no 83

^b For canons of criticism in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see R. L. Poole, *The papal chancery* (Cambridge, 1915), pp 143-62; cf Roger of York's criticism of a papal bull, document printed by Knowles in *EH R*, I, 477-8

^c The king was in Brittany in the summer (Eyton), and it looks as though Arnulf was with him The second excuse is an unfortunate corollary to the first

^d For William, see above, p 29, n. c For the letter, which covered the next, and the St Evroult business, see above, p xxxvii

tamen me, inquam, si unquam inueniar accepisse non ingratis quod uos tanta semper hilaritate gratuito contulistis, si mea signo quolibet se redemptam deuotio recognoscat. Interim ad eandem experientiam in omni semper oportunitate conuertor, certus quod apud excellentiam uestram ueritas amicitie nec defectum pati, nec aliquam potest incurrere senectutem

Inde est quod magistrum G, quem ad dominum papam pro quibusdam negociis mitto, precor attentius ut habeat uestra beniuolentia commendatum, ut, tam consilio uestro doctus quam fretus auxilio, optatum in negociis, que portat, mereatur effectum.

Recommends
Gilbert de
Glanville, who
is going to
the pope

87. To Pope Alexander III.^a

[Summer 1172] D²; E, C²

lxviii. Ad dominum papam Alexandrum.¹

fo 68^v

Felicem me et omni donatum² beatitudine iudicarem, si uel semel adhuc me ad uidendam faciem uestram bonitas diuina perduceret, ut desiderantibus oculis uultus uestri serenitas illuceret, et ariditatem meam copiosior de proximo benedictionis uestre rigaret ubertas

Desire to visit
the pope
Cf pp 4, 32, 170
and 188

Sed me⁴ cum⁵ prouectior etas, tum fortuite debilitatis incommodum, tum ipsa reddit locorum distantia desperatum, quia ad tot peragrandas regiones forte nec tempus spacium, nec potentiam debilitas indulgeret. Facio interim quod possum, et remoto corpore semper uobis instantia sollicitate deuotionis assistit, et ad status uestri prosperitatem et pacem sancte Romane ecclesie perquirendam in omni loco, quotiens refulget occasio, promptus et fidelis occurro.⁶ Siquidem in omnibus uestra me semper et predecessorum uestrorum gratia fecit et beneficentia debitorem, nichilque michi molestius est, quam quod omne quod possum ad debitas gratiarum non sufficit actiones. Verum quanto merita mea minora sunt, tanto animus ad obsequendum propensior est, tanto obnixior ad agendum, ut scilicet impotentie defectum deuotio suppleat, que, ubicunque sincera est, rectiore iudicio quolibet opere debet acceptior estimari.

Reasons and dis-
tractions

¹ Domino pape *Lexouensis* [episcopus], C²

² deuotum, C²

³ illucresceret, E

⁴ om, C²

⁵ altered to tum, E

⁶ occurrit, C²

^a Covered by the previous letter See note d

His faithfulness
towards the
papacy

He has reconciled
Henry to the
Church.

Hopes that the
pope will always
help him.

fo. 69^a

Viderunt hoc legati uestri quoscunque ab initio ad partes nostras uestra destinauit auctoritas, fidemque et diligentiam meam euidentibus rerum argumentis experti sunt, sicut etiam litteris eorum, qui nouissime uenerunt,^a uestre potuit innotescere maiestati. Siquidem cum ea, propter que uenerant, ad miserabilem scissuram negotia declinassent, et omnes, qui intercesserant, desperata concordia, discessissent, ego tandem feruore caritatis ultro solus accessi, omnibusque cum¹ legatis uestris utili examinatione et prouida pertractatis, principem nostrum, iam reuertentem in Angliam, de ipso itinere reuocaui, ipsumque ad bonum pacis per ministerium meum diuina benignitas inclinauit^b. In quo uisa est omnibus insperatum diuina pietas² operata miraculum, quod tantus princeps a tanto indignationis et iracundie motu ad opera pacis humilitatisque conuersus est, seque legatis uestris, pro reuerentia dei et gratia uestra, tractabilem exhibuit, et prestitit obsequentem, sicut de litteris ipsius et eorum uestra experientia recognouit. Profecto, si in eo, quod ibi factum est, honorem ecclesie dei uestrumque uobis placuerit estimare prouentum, magnum est, immo maximum, quod fecistis, si fuerit qui executioni mandare et effectui mancipare procuret. Quod sane iam non erit difficile reputandum, quia, operante pro ecclesia sua spiritu sancto, tante tunc³ principem sinceritas deuotionis astrinxit, ut nulla eum penitentia, nulla possit impudentia reuocare.

Nec ego hec ad iactantiam, uel ut mea uidear merita predicare, recenseo; sed desiderabile michi est ut studium meum, tot approbatum indicis, a memoria uestra non excidat, sed pristina michi semper apud maiestatem uestram gratia perseueret, ut in nouissimis diebus meis, ad quos me senectutis necessitas odiosa perducit, fortius michi semper in oportunitatibus manus uestre protectionis assistat, nec quietem⁴ meam uexationibus concuti, nec ecclesiam meam malignitate qualibet sua patiamini⁵ iusticia defraudari,⁶ ut ego eam in eo statu conseruare ualeam, ad quem ipsam per merita uestra, domino cooperante, perduxī; ut moriens, de paupere diuitem, de obscura possim relinquere⁶ gloriosam. Ad quod sane

¹ pro, C³

² bonitas, E

³ iam, C³

⁴ quietem, C³

⁵ patiatr, C³

⁶ space of two lines left blank, omitting ut ego

relinquere, C³

^a Albert and Theodwin. See note to ep no 83

^b May 1172 at Savigny. See *Materials*, vii, 513 and v, 414, and cf. vii, 520.

complendum, quia per me non ualeo temporis obstantis malicia peruenire, ad solitum uestre benignitatis auxilium et sancte Romane ecclesie presidium singulare in omni semper oportunitate conuertor, quia uos expertus sum in omni semper petitione propiciū, et in expugnandis difficultatibus meis penitus efficacem.

Latorem ergo presentium, magistrum Gislebertum,^a quem michi cum¹ honestas, tum scientia, tum etiam beati Thome Cantuariensis archiepiscopi ulterior, qua eum complectebatur, gratia commendauit,^b ad pedes uestre dirigo sanctitatis, ut per eum uobis ueritas et iusticia negotiorum nostrorum plenius innotescat, et epistole breuitatem commodius sermo uiuus instauret. Rogo itaque ut ipsum bonitas uestra ea, qua me et meos semper consueuistis, benignitate suscipiat, et diuturnitati negotiorum nostrorum finem curetis imponere, super quibus a uobis primos, secundos et tertios iudices iam accepi;² sed tam spes mea quam eorum cognitio multis artibus est elusa, ne possem usque ad audientiam etiam peruenire. His autem, que ex parte mea uobis iste dixerit, fidem indubitatam habere poteritis, quia sacrilegio maus est attemptare etiam uestram in aliquo fallere sanctitatem.

Recommends the bearer, Gislebert, and his business, the suit against St. Evroult.

88. To Pope Alexander III.^c

[? c. 1173.] E, G.

Ad eundem

fo 119.

Petitiones a nobis tertio factas, et a maiestate uestra semper benignius exauditas, quarto n[un]c iterare co[m]pellimur, quia delegatorum nouissime iudicum multitudo cognitionis impediuit³ euentum. Siquidem Baiocensis^d et Ebroicensis decanorum^e diutina et frequens absentia tertium collegam, dominum scilicet Abrincensem,^f a negotiorum executione suspendit, quia nichil ei fuerat sine alterius eorum uel utriusque presenti cooperatione commissum.

The number of judges prevents business.

¹ altered to tum, E

² C³ ends here

³ impediunt, E

^a Brial (*HF*, xvi, 673) and Robertson (*Materials*, vii, 560), suggest that this was Gilbert de Glanville, archdeacon of Lisieux, and afterwards bishop of Rochester

^b Cf. *Materials*, iii, 526

^c Concerning the case of St. Evroult. See above p. xxxvii.

^d William de Tournebu, later bishop of Coutances

^e Robert de Neufbourg

^f Richard III.

The indignity of
being judged by
inferiors

The astute
wickedness of
the monks

fo 119^v.

Their purchase
of churches and
tithes from lay-
men.

Request for relief
and other judges.

Et ego quidem miratus sum, quod standi necessitatem sacerdoti, ipsique episcopo, coram diacono, seni coram adolescentibus uestra maiestas indixerit, cum potius minores a maioribus, inferiores a superioribus, iuniores a senioribus soleant iudicari. Paratus tamen eram cum omni reuerentia quorumlibet iudicum uestrorum imperata recipere; set aduerse partis astucia in eorum, de quibus agitur, possessione consistens, nunc, sicut ¹ ab antiquo, semper dies et tempora dilationibus redimit, et, me semper ad omnem diem et locum iudicibus occurrente, nec semel adhuc in iudicio dignata est apparere. Siquidem quandoque ² nobis, sicut hactenus semper, uolentia potentie secularis opponitur, quandoque redemptus caute iudicum fauor quashbet aduersum ³ nos manifestissime etiam frustratorias dilationes admittit. Cum uero, reclamante semper ecclesia nostra, parrochiales ecclesias et decimationes emptionibus aut quibushbet ⁴ illicitis modis de manu laica sacrilega temeritate monachi presumpserint occupare, seculari semper potestate defensi sunt, ut male parta possessio malo nichilominus presidio seruaretur. ⁵ Tempus autem uolentie huius ad prescriptionem longi temporis nituntur opponere, cum ad prescriptionem proficere non possit uolenta uel interpellata possessio, ubi scilicet nec experiendi copia neque dies utilis indulgetur auctori.

Rogamus igitur ut labori nostro, cui iam xxx. annis ineffaciter institimus, bonitas uestra finem curet imponere, dominoque Abrincensi, quem uestra iudicem nobis assignauit electio, quem uolueritis adiungatis, quem certum sit zelum dei habere et peritiam iudicandi, quique eius sit etatis et ordinis, ut nec ordini nostro irrogari uideatur iniuria, nec confusio senectuti. Petitiones autem nostras lator presentium, Hugo, archidiaconus et nepos noster, ^a maiestati uestre plenius indicabit, quia eas presentibus litteris non duximus inserendas, ne forte prolixitas epistole in tedium uerteretur.

¹ et, G

³ aduersus, G.

² quandoque *repeated*, E

⁴ quibusdam, G.

⁵ seruauerunt, E

^a Hugh de Nonant. See above, p. xiii.

89. To Pope Alexander III.^a[C II73] D², E, C³.lxix Ad eundem ¹fo 69^v

Est quiddam quod tam meam quam alias uehementer angit ecclesias, quorundam scilicet rapax et intemperans audacia monachorum, qui, quo liberius effluant, secularis potentie presidia redimementes, primo episcopis omnem obedientiam subtrahunt, et parochiales ecclesias cum altaris et decimationibus ceterisque beneficiis de manu laica recipere pactis quibushbet sacrilega temeritate presumunt. In his ergo ab eis nec canonicus ordo nec episcopalis assensus exigitur, sed, deuocatis ad proprietatem omnibus, mercenarios in tanta paupertate ibi constituunt sacerdotes, ut ad exhibitionem suam et ad onera ecclesie portanda non habeant quod opiloni sufficeret aut cursori

The rapacity of monks who receive churches with their altars and tithes from laymen

They pay their stipendiary vicars poorly
fo 70

Generale est hoc, sed in episcopatu meo uehementius hec est grassata malignitas, nec iam nobis cuiuslibet rationis obtentu, sed fallacius ² ac muneribus nobis presidioque uolentie secularis obsistunt. Ad quod ³ secundum ordinem institutionis ecclesiastice ⁴ reformandum, cum ego aduersus abbatem quendam et monachos monasterii cuiusdam in episcopatu nostro, scilicet Sancti Ebrulfi, a sublimitate uestra primos, secundos et tercios iudices impetrauerim, ⁵ abbate semper multis artibus obsistente, nichil est adhuc effectui mancipatum, cum sacerdotes nostri in executione cause apud iudices assignatos multis attenuati sumptibus, multis laboribus sint affecti. Habemus autem et alias causas aduersus eundem abbatem de multiplici et contumaci inobedientia, cum tamen ad exhibendam nobis obedientiam et reuerentiam uinculo iurate professionis teneatur astrictus. De alio quoque periurio, quod, post prestitum corporaliter iuramentum de exhibenda ad mandatum nostrum satisfactione coram multis uenerabilibus personis, manifeste contraxit, in eo scilicet quod, post sententiam suspensionis et anathematis, per quinquennium et eo amplius missas et cetera

The evil is very prevalent in the diocese of Lisieux, and the abbot of St. Evroult is an offender. Arnulf has not been able to secure judgment against him

He is also guilty of inobedience and perjury

¹ Reuerentissimo domino suo et patri karissimo, A, dei gratia catholice ecclesie summo pontifici, Arnulfus, Lexouiensis ecclesie humilis minister, salutem cum omni debite humilitatis et deuotionis affectu, C³

² fallacibus, C³.

³ quos, C³

⁴ eccles inst, C³

^a Concerning the case of St Evroult, see above, p xxxvii

^b See the two previous letters,

presumpsit diuina officia celebrare, donec, cognita coram legatis uestris ueritate, quam dicimus, de necessitate magis quam de penitentia nobis se prestitit absoluendum, iurato nimirum quod ad mandatum nostrum super tribus expressim¹ staret excessibus, et modum imposite sibi satisfactionis impleret^a. De priuilegio quoque a uobis per surreptionem elicto, idem abbas uobis² et ecclesie nostre tenetur obnoxius, super quo iam tercio ipsum ad uos cum priuilegio mitti, inuenta nimirum falsitate, iussistis.

A papal privilege
obtained deceit-
fully.

A usurped
hermitage

De heremo etiam quadam, que a nobis et fundatore³ quibusdam regularibus et religiosis fratribus collata est, a predicto abbate et monachis, post appellationem ad uos factam, nouiter occupata, et aliis quibusdam, que reuerentie uestre in omni ueritate fides et sedulitas nuncii nostri plenius explicabit

C³.
fo 70^v
The abess of
Montivillers
Silvester,
treasurer of
Lisieux.

Request for
judges and an
end to these
troubles

[Aduersus abbatissam quoque de monasterio Villari causa nobis est, super qua, sed ineffaciter, litteras uestre maiestatis accepi^b

Thesaurarius etiam noster,^c nepos meus, ille quem nostis, aduersus nos et uniuersos fratres capituli nostri controuersiam mouet, quam, cum audieritis, seueritate uestra reprimi summo opere postulamus, quia eius ex multis causis ab antiquo concepta malitia non quiescit.

Super quibus in his, que statim a sublimitate uestra non poterunt expediri, assignari nobis a prudentia uestra iudices oportebit, qui uirtutem, qui zelum dei, qui peritiam habeant iudicandi, quia ab his, quos hactenus ac[c]epimus, iam per decennium minus reuerentie uobis, minus nobis fraterne caritatis exhibitum est, sed sepius frustra uexationibus concussi sumus, et sumptibus aggrauati. Nunc autem certior nobis spes assequendi quod querimus incipit apparere, quia, procedente mandato uestro, nullus iam nobis terror uolentie secularis obsistet]^d

90. To Henry, bishop of Bayeux.^d

D²; E

[c 1172.]

fo 71

lxx(1). Ad Henricum, Baiocensem episcopum.

Memini me pro latore presentium olim uestre excellentie suppli-

¹ expressum, C³.

² nobis, E

³ fraudatore, E

^d C³ adds *this unique passage*.

^a See ep no 70.

^b See above, p. xxxvi

^c See above p lvi.

^d 1164-1205.

casae, quia michi pro eo quorundam, quibus ego deesse non poteram, instantia supplicabat Exaudistis ex parte, quia ab irroganda seuenore sententia temperastis ad tempus, nondum tamen ei optatum beneficium perfecte liberationis arrisit Instant igitur qui ab initio profusis precibus institerunt, eoque obnixius, quia nouerunt quod dilectio uestra preces meas consueuerit exaudire Preces igitur iterare compellit iterata precatio, et me genibus uestre caritatis aduoluit, ut hic se multiplicatis precibus uberius remedium gratiae gaudeat inuenisse. Audiui etiam dominum archiepiscopum et dominum Abrincensem scripsisse pro eo, eosque culpe, quam contraxit, clementer ignoscere, quia ad inquisitionem uestram maluit humiliter confiteri quod fecerat, quam duplicata culpa conscientiam suam obfuscare mendacius, aut de uestra misericordia desperare Preces itaque precibus et consilio eorum censui fiducialius adiungendas, ut, si maiestas uestra admonitioni eorum duxerit obsequendum, mea quoque tante auctoritati intercessio suffragetur.

Asks for pardon
for the bearer of
the letter

Rotrou
Richard III

91. To the cardinal legates, Albert and Theodwin.^a

[January 1173] D², E, C³

lx(vij). Ad legatos Albertum et Theodinum.¹ | fo 67^v

Mandatum uestre sublimitatis accepi, ut Ricardum Urselli prope diem dominice circumcisionis uestro submonerem conspectui presentari, responsurum Roberto cuidam super ecclesia de Cormorlem,² ^b quam ille sibi dicit legitime pertinere Feci itaque quod mandastis, quia propositum meum est ³ cum omni humilitate et diligentia uestris per omnia preceptionibus obedire.

fo. 68
He has been
ordered to sum-
mon Richard
Urselli to appear
before the legates
on 1 Jan to
make answer to
Robert about
a church.

Is uero, qui uocatur, de nimia temporis assignati breuitate conqueritur, quia tam modico tempore non poterit necessariam instructionem cum multo labore et plurimo etiam dispendio comparare Siquidem homo grauis est, et oportet eum de remotis et dispersis locis subsidia petere, et postmodum ad uos in aliam transire prouintiam, cum ei ad omnimodam preparationem non fuerit spacium xv

Richard com-
plains that he
has not been given
sufficient time

¹ Cardinalibus Lexouiensis [episcopus], C³

² Cormorlem, C³ ³ om, C³

^a See note to ep no 83

^b Cormolain, 17 kms. east of St Lô, in the diocese of Bayeux

dierum indultum. Quod sane ab aduersario suo callide patet esse quesitum, quia nullam concepit de iusticia et ueritate fiduciam, sed propter impotentiam persone sperat aliquid uexationibus et transactione qualibet extorquere.

History
of the case

The bishop of
Avranches
decided in favour
of Richard,
and found that
Robert was the
son of a priest
who had been
vicar of the
church, and had
also been
fraudulent.

Robert
appealed.
fo 68^v.

It is inexpedient
for the son of a
priest to succeed
his father

Various requests

Porro ecclesia illa in episcopatu *Baiocensi* constituta est, neque causa ullo tempore ad episcopi sui peruenit examen; sed ille, quesitis ab apostolica sede litteris, quia rei ueritas in ecclesia *Baiocensi* publice nota erat, causam ad alienum, scilicet ad Abrincensem, transduxit episcopum,^a ut ibi liceret ei quicquid uellet audacius affirmare. Verum dominus Abrincensis, uir sane religiosus et prudens, ueritate diligentius inquisita, cognouit Ricardum plus xxx annis continue possedissee, et per uicarias semper deseruisse personas, suoque iurebeneficia¹ percepisse. Constituit etiam Robertum esse filium sacerdotis, quem certum erat eiusdem ecclesie uicarium extitisse, atque ipsum inde sibi ad petitionem possessionis fraudis² preparasse materiam, quod ibi, que³ patrem suum pro executione parrochialis officii contingebant, aliquando perceperat, et tam suis quam matris et relique paterne familie necessitatibus impendebat.

Repulsus igitur, et Ricardo litigi quiete concessa, ad audientiam Romani pontificis ad kalendas Februarias appellauit. Misit iste, et responsum apostolice maiestatis expectat, sperans quod de mandato eius a religioso episcopo tam sancte factum est, ipsius nimirum auctoritate firmandum. Neque enim expedit prouintie nostre, in qua cotidie tam impudenter impudicia conualescit, filios sacerdotum paternis altaribus adhiberi, ne⁴ incestuosi concubinatus crimen ab ipso uel a uobis profusa benignitate uideatur indultum, nec⁵ spurcie soboles sanctuarium dei exemplo paterne prauitatis incestet. Oculi itaque uestri uideant equitatem, si ad recognitionem iam cognite ueritatis episcopus, ad quem ab initio causa suo ordine pertinebat, de ea legatione, quam de uestra uoluntate suscepit, debeat expectari, si appellationi sedis apostolice deferendum est, si religioso episcopo, qui cognouit ex delegatione, credendum, si denique spacium maius indulgendum est, ut, perspectis etiam omnibus, filio nostro in iure suo nostra uideatur intercessio profuisse.

¹ beneficio, C^s.

² fraude, C^s.

³ quod ea que ibi, C^s.

⁴ nec, E.

⁵ ne, C^s.

^a Achard, ob. 1171, or Richard III, his successor.

[Valete. De statu uestro debita caritate solliciti, rogamus nobis
rescribere non grauemini, sicubi locorum disposuistis aliquandiu
demorari, ut nos aliquando uestram possimus presentiam cum debita
deuocione et reuerentia uisitare]¹

C³ fo. 6r

Request for information as to the whereabouts of the legates.

92. To the cardinal legates, Albert and Theodwin.^a

[Summer 1173] C³.

Venerabilibus et dilectis dominis et patribus suis, Alberto et
Theodino, sancte Romane ecclesie presbiteris cardinalibus et legatis,

¹ C³ adds this unique passage

^a See above, p 1 Six bishoprics had fallen vacant during Becket's exile, and the king took steps to fill them with his supporters as soon as he was reconciled to the archbishop. In October 1170 Becket's envoys reported indignantly from England that an electoral body, consisting of the archbishop of York, the bishops of London and Salisbury, and four or six clerks from each of the vacant churches, was to be set up (*Materials*, vii, 391), and in December these prelates and the parties of six clerks joined the king in Normandy to the scandal of many (Becket to the pope, *Materials*, vii, 406, John of Salisbury to Peter of Celle, *ibid*, 409, Diceto, i, 342). We know nothing of their deliberations, and presumably little had been done when Becket's death suspended such activities.

When the king was once more reconciled to the Church, interest had shifted to the election of a new archbishop. The negotiations between the two Henrys, the prior of Canterbury, the papal legates and the bishops began in 1172 (Gervase of Canterbury, i, 39, *seqq*, gives the most detailed account, and cf Diceto, i, 369, and *Materials*, vii, *passim*), but the proceedings were so lengthy that the legates Albert and Theodwin authorized in the meanwhile the filling up of the vacant bishoprics (letter quoted by Diceto, i, 366). In April 1173 a meeting of the clergy of the vacant churches assembled at Westminster, and in the presence of the justiciar Lucy accepted Henry's nominees (Tornig, p. 256, Gervase, i, 243, Diceto, i, 368). Nevertheless, Diceto calls the elections free.

When finally Richard, prior of Dover, was elected archbishop on 3 June, arrangements were made that he should be consecrated two days later and consecrate the new bishops at the same time (Gervase, i, 244). But the young Henry had already revolted, and, in a letter forbidding the ceremony, which arrived opportunely at the time of the consecration, he protested that the candidates were unsuitable and that he had not been consulted, and announced that he had appealed to the pope through the legates (Gervase, i, 243; Diceto, i, 372). In such circumstances the consecrations were abandoned, and all sent letters to the pope (cf letters of John of Salisbury, nos 311-15, *M P L*, cxcix, 368-71).

Arnulfus, Lexoviensis ecclesie humilis minister, salutem, et tam humile quam deuotum obsequium.

The English ecclesiastical elections should be completed

Favour asked for Richard of Ilchester, bishop-elect of Winchester

Reasons :

suitability,

favour with the pope,

vacant benefices provide revenue for war.

Further pleas for consecration.

Electiones, quas in ecclesie Anglie fieri sublimitas uestra constituit, in plerisque earum sunt unanimi eorum, ad quos pertinebant, concordia celebrate ¹ Sicut autem sapientia uestra prouidit ut fierent, sic uestra quod restat oportet nichilominus auctoritate compleri, ut sancta initia operis uestri debito consum[m]entur effectu Et ego quidem ad supplicandum pro omnibus debito fraterne caritatis adducor, sed pro Wintoniensi ecclesia et electo trahor obnoxius, quibus ab antiquo omni sum caritate deuinctus.

Constat etiam hoc ad honorem dei, ad regimen et consolationem ecclesiarum illarum, ad magnum sancte Romane ecclesie prouentum, ad u[est]ram quoque gloriam pertinere, ut suum citius assequantur primitie complementum, quoniam inter rerum motus, quos in partibus illis emeruisse nouistis, nimium potest de dilatione periculum prouenire. Porro predictam personam non solum ecclesie illi, sed toti etiam regno esse constat acceptam, quoniam prudentia eius, modestia et liberalitas in magna, quam diu functus est, potestate certissimis experimentis innotuit, ideoque ad promotionem eius totis anhelant desideris, ut a multis, quas patiuntur, molestis prouida ipsius et benigna gubernacione respirent. Sed et ipsi Romano pontifici plurimum totique ecclesie Romane, sicut nostis, acceptus est, prouectumque eius, sicut credimus, plurimus Romani pontificis fauor attollet, et perpetua, meritis ipsius semper insistentibus, gratia confouebit. Sicut igitur fieri electiones in uirtute fecistis, accelerate in eadem uirtute consecrationis effectum, quoniam causa, que electiones tanto tempore distulit, eadem consecrationes ad longinquiora tempora, nisi uestra prouiderit sapientia, protelabit. Siquidem dispositum est omnes episcopatum prouentus usque ad perfectarum consecrationum tempora reseruari, ut, factis electionibus, uestre uideatur instantie satisfactum, bona tamen illa nichilominus in pristinos conferantur abusus Quod inde discretionis uestre potest manifestius apparere, quod nulle uobis preces de accelerandis consecrationibus offeruntur, et bona illa cotidie ad sumptus bellorum, diebus singulis excrescentes, secularium ministrorum manibus inferuntur.^a

Accelerate igitur, et necessarium, quod de facili potestis, adhibite

¹ celebritate, *MS*

^a War between Henry and his sons who were supported by Louis of France broke out at the end of June 1173 (*Torigni*, p 257)

remedium, quia, si preceperitis, nulla erit audacia que resistat. Sane per episcopos, quorum in prouincia illa sufficiens numerus est, res indilato poterit effectui mancipari, demandata scilicet cui uolueritis consecrandi auctoritate, licet hoc ad *Londoniensem* episcopum, qui in cathalogis episcoporum prouincie illius post archiepiscopum primus est speciali de ratione et antiqua consuetudine, priuilegio habeat pertinere.^a Accelerate, inquam, ne auctoritas uestra ducatur in irritum, sed aliquid fecisse uideamini, in quo sancte Romane ecclesie sua uideatur reuerentia confirmari. Accedant post omnia preces nostre, quas ex parte nobis gratie uestre fiducialiter offerre presumimus, necessitatem et utilitatem ecclesiarum, prouentum Romani pontificis, et gloriam uestri nominis in omnibus attendentes.

The bishop of London should perform the ceremony.

93. To Richard of Ilchester.^b[? c 1173.]^c D², E, C³Iviij. Ad Ricardum, Pictauensem archidiaconum¹fo 63^v

Librum de ecclesiasticis officiis^d eo libentius uobis² censui transmittendum, quia uellem uos, exemptum secularibus, diuinis officiis³ toto studio mancipari. Quod si uos ad illa quandoque necessitas, aut prouentus, aut superior gratia pertrahit, ordinis uestri semper habete memoriam; nec eis uos immisceatis, quorum executio professioni uestre non congruit, sed eis dimittatis per quos ea specialius conuenit expediri. Porro quedam sunt quibus uestram uos oportet omnino negare presentiam, ubi scilicet corporalis pena uel iudicium

Warning against participation in the judgments of secular courts

¹ Venerabili domino et amico suo, *Ricardo*, Pictauensi archidiacono Arnulfus, *Lexouienensis* ecclesie humilis minister, salutem cum omni sincera caritatis affectu, C³ ² om, C³ ³ officus diuinis, C³.

^a The archbishop of Canterbury was in the same position as the bishops

^b See note to ep. 52. For the matter cf. Benedict, 1, 85

^c This is the date suggested by the position of the letter in C³, and connects it with Richard's election to the see of Winchester, but the position in D² and in the second edition makes it about 1170.

^d Probably the book with that title by Rupert of Deutz, who died in 1135. John of Salisbury left one to Chartres (*Cartulaire de N D. de Chartres*, ed. L. Merlet and E. de Lépinis (Chartres, 1862-5), III, 202). Or it may be the *Liber de diuersis consuetudinibus ecclesiarum in officiis diuinis* of John of Avranches, bishop of Avranches and archbishop of Rouen at the end of the preceding century (*H L*, VIII, 69).

fo 64. sanguinis fuerit irrogandum, quia forensium legum seueritas in plerisque mansuetudini miserationis ecclesiastice non concordat.

94. To the cardinal legates, Albert and Theodwin.^a

C^s.

[Summer 1173]

fo 69.

Uenerabilibus et dilectis dominis et patribus suis, Alberto et Theodino, sancte Romane ecclesie presbiteris cardinalibus et legatis, Arnulfus, Lexouiensis ecclesie humilis minister, salutem cum omni debite deuotionis affectu

Asks for the consecration of Reginald, bishop-elect of Bath,

who is in every way suitable

fo 69^v.

Pro electo Batoniensi, Raginaldo, noto et amico uestro, sanctitati uestre cum deuotione pariter et fidutia supplicamus, ut, quod de ipso unanimi totius ecclesie illius concordia bene ceptum est, auctoritatis uestre beneficio compleatur. Neque enim personam eius apud uos multe commendationis instantia credimus indigere, cum, quid ipse prudentie et honestatis habeat, ipsi Romano pontifici totique Romane ecclesie multis experimentis innotuerit, multisque constiterit argumentis. Sane cuius fidei quanteque sedulitatis circa honorem et prouentum sancte Romane ecclesie semper exstiterit, uestra quoque experientia non ignorat.^b Vidistis enim sepius, uidimus et nos, cum ipse ab ineunte iuuentute sua maxima ad sedem apostolicam negotia pertulisset, ipsum semper in omnibus deuotum et utilem exstitisse, atque in negotiis illis, pro quibus principis nostri prouentura discessio timebatur, quanta sedulitate, quanto labore, quanto sumptu cum aliis, immo fortasse pre aliis, animum principis in deuotione seruauerit, et in catholica nobiscum firmauerit unitate. Iustum itaque est, idque ad nostram quoque gloriam credimus pertinere, ut, cum iustitia cause gratia uestra meritis eius in oportunitate respondeat, ipsi, sicut expedire uideritis, faciatis consecrationis gratiam indulgeri, ne forte ex dispendio dilationis cupiditati uel inuidie aduersus eum comparetur occasio malignandi.

Vnde oportet prouidentiam uestram ad celerem rei effectum uigilanter insistere, quia de prouectu eius prouentum ecclesie pluribus expectatur, cum ex precedentibus ipsius meritis apud omnes bonos spes optima de uirtute ipsius et industria et effusa liberalitate procedat.

^a For the cardinals see note to ep no 83. For the matter see above, p. 149, n. a, and cf letter of Foliot, no 160, *MPL*, cxc, 863.

^b Cf. ep no. 60, and p. 111 and note a

95. To the cardinal legates, Albert and Theodwin.^a

[Summer 1173] E, G

Ad Albertum et Theodinum,¹ cardinales et legatos.fo. 119^v

Pro uiro uenerabili, Raginaldo, Bathomensi electo, excellentie On behalf of
uestre nos suplicasse meminimus, quod scilicet ab ecclesia illa Reginald, bishop-
concorditer electus sit, et unanimi omnium uoluntate susceptus, elect of Bath
quod quidem adeo certum est, ut nichil in toto regno sit notius,
nec aliquis est qui uel persone disponat obsistere, uel facto electionis
uelit in aliquo derogare Sane negocia et bona ecclesie quiete cum
omni potestate disponit, et quicquid ab electo episcopo citra gratiam
consecrationis expediri potest, ordinat et dispensat

Quia uero sine consensu auctoritatis uestre ad perfectionem gratie A mission to the
ipsius² peruenire non potest, misit ad uos ecclesia illa uenerabiles legates was
et electas de tota uniuersitate personas, que uice omnium a bonitate abandoned
uestra complementum promotionis eius promioribus uotis exquirerent, because of the
et obnixis precibus implorarent. Vidimus eos, Thomam scilicet hostility of the
archidiaconum,^b et A, monachum ecclesie illius, quoniam ecclesia young Henry
illa conuentum monachorum habet, non collegium clericorum, et Cf p 155, and
magistrum Ranulfum, uiros litteratos equidem et prudentes Benedict, 1, 69-
et approbate a pluribus honestatis, negotium scilicet istud ex delega- 70
tione omnium omni studio prosequentes, set uiam, qua³ ad uos
peruenire possent, nullatenus inuenire potuerunt. Laborauimus
cum eis et plerique alii, nec ulla securitas penetrandi ad uos potuit
inueniri, presertim quia negotio illi rex iunior, qui in partibus illis
commoratur, dicitur aduersari. Ad suffragandum itaque uotis
eorum, litteris tam ab humilitate nostra quam ab aliis diligentius
impetratis,^c nuncium pro se, quem habitus artioris religionis et
paupertas absconderet, ad perferendum negocium, quia aliter id
fieri non poterat, transmiserunt.

These letters are
being sent
secretly by a
monk

Quia igitur tante rei effectus, non nisi instantium bellorum im-
portunitate et casibus fortuitis impeditur, sanctitati et officio uestro
credimus conuenire, et ad idem etiam deuotas preces duximus

Plea for Regi-
nald's conse-
cration¹ add sancte Romane ecclesie, G² illius, G³ que, G^a For the cardinals see note to ep no 83. For the matter see above, p 149.ⁿ ^a^b Of Wells (Le Neve, *Fasti*)^c Cf letter of Gilbert Foliot, no 160, *MPL*, cxc, 863

adiungendas, ut, quod residuum est, auctoritas uestra compleat et confirmet, ne uota ecclesie ludificari ¹ permittatis, et ipsius utilitates ² impediri.

96. To Pope Alexander III.^a

E, G.

[End of 1173]

fo. 118^v

Ad dominum ³ papam Alexandrum

fo. 119

On behalf of
Richard, prior
of Dover, arch-
bishop-elect of
Canterbury.

Que detrimenta, quos labores, quas iniurias ecclesia Cantuariensis hac tempe|state pertulerit, uestra compassio non ignorat Verum afflictam diutius, et miserabili merore confectam, miserator et misericors dominus oculo misericordie respexit ad presens, ipsamque cepit ad statum pristine dignitatis et excellentie per gloriosa beati Thome, noui martiris, magnalia reuocare, quibus eam frequentius magnificentia diuine maiestatis illustrat.

A new miracle
at Canterbury:
Richard's free
election.

Certum est autem ibi nouiter quoddam inter cetera contigisse miraculum, quod nulla spes antea, nulla fiducia presumebat scilicet quod ibi persona ad regimen ecclesie sine designatione laice potestatis electa est, ^b cum nullus ibi ⁴ antea promoueri potuerit, nisi de quo prius potentia secularis edixit. Siquidem cum opus illud ad ueterem abusum reuocari multis fuisset artibus attemptatum, per merita predicti martiris omnis machinatio semper ⁵ elusa est, quia eam, quam ipse ibi proprio redemerat sanguine, libertatem persone committi non pertulit, cuius nec ⁶ electio libera et canonicus pro-

¹ add diutius, G

² add amplius, G

³ om, G

⁴ ibi nullus, G

⁵ semper mach, G

⁶ non, G

^a Cf letter of Gilbert Foliot, no 158, *M P L*, cxc, 862 After the postponement of the consecrations (see above, p 149, note a), Richard, elect of Canterbury, and Reginald, elect of Bath, left for Italy in 1173 and arrived in February 1174 (Torgni, p 263, Diceto, i, 388, Benedict, i, 69) Richard was consecrated by the pope at Anagni on 7 April 1174 (Gervase, i, 247, Benedict, i, 69), but Reginald's case was postponed until he could provide witnesses On the way back to England, Reginald was able to purge himself of complicity in the murder of Becket, and to produce witnesses to declare that he was born before his father, Joscelin, bishop of Salisbury, had taken holy orders, so he was consecrated at the cathedral of St John, Maurienne, on 23 June 1174 by archbishop Richard, and by the archbishop of Tarentaise, who was being sent by the pope to reconcile Henry and his sons (Diceto, i, 391, Torgni, p. 263, Gervase of Canterbury, i, 251; Peter of Blois, ep no 45, *M P L*, ccvii, 130)

^b Cf Gervase, i, 244

baretur ingressus. Si enim tam recenter conualere ueteris ritum uiolentie contigisset, inanis fortasse a pluribus preciosi sanguinis reputaretur effusio, et in defectum decertata tot laboribus uictoria concidisse. Ceterum nunc tota prouincia in spem optate tanto tempore libertatis aspirat, et confirmatum Christi sanguine testamentum nouo gaudet iterum sanguine consignari.

Omniū igitur ad triumphum nouiter euicte libertatis concurrente leticia, exorato spiritu, et eos in unum suauius dirigente consensum, electus est uir, cuius religio, cuius prudentia, cuius magnificentia tanto operi idonea crederetur, quod non externis indicis, set intra domestica claustra per longum tempus ipsis rerum constiterat argumentis. Nulla inuidia, nulla ambitio, nulla denique uis obuiare presumpsit, quoniam sanctus ille successoris sui consecrare uidebatur incia, et altari, cuius ipse sacerdos extiterat, gratum sibi substituere sacerdotem. Felicitati temporum uestrorum hec leticia seruabatur, ut hoc ad uestrorum accederet gloriam titulorum, scilicet quod ubique uirtus uestra suam restituerit ecclesie libertatem.

Benedictus autem deus, qui ad consensum hunc deuoti filii uestri, senioris regis, animum inclinauit; factumque hoc debito fauore prosequitur, quod aliquando consueuerat designatione necessaria preuenire. Verum filius, quem ad succedendum sibi in regno fecit prematura patris affectio consecrari, tanto bono cepit obsistere, eorum scilicet impellente consilio, qui eum de sinu patris abstrahere potuerunt, et simplicitatem adolescentie eius in proprium magis quam in patris conuertere detrimentum. Studium igitur eorum est ipsum patri semper opponere, ut ex omnibus causis inter eos, que ipsi seminauerunt, odia conualescant, ne, aliquando conuersus ad cor, debitum gratie naturalis agnoscere, et ad paternos incipiat redire complexus. Super quo prudentiam uestram necesse est sollicite preuidere, ne uiolentia necessarie designationis, que in patre per gratiam dei et gloriam uestram penitus exspirauit, intuitu mansuetudinis uel dissimulationis uestre resurgat in filio, ne tam sublata quam translata uideatur in alium, tantoque uehementior parēt insistere, quanto paternam abrenunciationem proposito suo considerat obuiare.

Personam itaque, in qua desiderate diu libertatis ceperunt incia consecrari, benigne suscipite; ipsique ad executionem tanti operis necessariam de magnificentia uirtutis apostolice conferte ¹ fiduciam,

His merits

The good work of King Henry II

The opposition of the young king; cf p. 153, and Benedict, 1, 69-70

Plea for Richard's consecration.

¹ conferre, E.

The great profit
 Ps. cxxxvi, 9.
 Cant vi, 9

ut primitie uestre uestris semper auspiciis conualescant, et leto consummentur effectu Ad uos omnium fidelum oculi, ad uos omnium ecclesiarum uota suspirant, ut ex hoc, qui libertatem habent, retinendi fiduciam, et, qui non habent, spem concipiant optinendi Ad hec, hoc opus, hoc studium, hec martyrís illius iugis fuit intentio ecclesie, cui preerat, redimere libertatem hic laboris fructus, hec merces sanguinis, hoc premium passionis Quia uero ille hunc, uelut heredem et successorem, conseruande libertatis elegit, gloriosum uobis est cooperari martiri, et ipsius iniciis uestrum addere complementum, ut operationi eius operatio uestra uelut eodem spiritu uegetata concurrat. Ipsum ergo ad opus, ad quod tam sancte tam celebriter assumptus est, cum festinatione remittite, ne de absentia eius occasionem malicia contrahat, et rediuiua potentie secularis incipiant germina pullulare. Set per istum beatitudo uestra renascentes paruulos teneat et allidat ad petram, sublatoque pristine seruitutis elogio, ecclesia dei letabunda procedat, meritisque illius et uestris de antiqua semper iniquitate triumphans, hostibus suis incipiat apparere *terribilis, ut castrorum acies ordinata*. Porro intelligat sapientia uestra non solum prouincie illius et regni, set aliorum etiam regnorum desideria suplicare, ad quecumque sancti illius tam relatione quam presenti inspectione magnalia peruenerunt.

97. To Henry, archbishop of Reims.^aD³, E, C³.

[c 1173.]

fo. 70.

lxx Ad dominum Henricum, Remensem archiepiscopum ¹ |fo 70^vPlea that the
archbishop

Philippum uestrum de Chaumont,^b cum apud nos ² in Rothomagensi moraretur ecclesia,^c honesta conuersatio notum nobis reddidit et acceptum. Accedebat ad gratiam, quod in actibus ³

¹ No address, C³² uos, E³ moribus *over* noctibus *expunged*, C³

^a Henry of France; son of King Louis VI, Cistercian monk, bishop of Beauvais 1149, archbishop of Reims, 1162-75

^b This Philip was a relative of the archbishop's, because he was the son or grandson of Isabel, an illegitimate daughter of Louis VI, who was married before 1117 to William fitz Osmund of Chaumont in the Vexin (J J Brial, *Hist Acad Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* (1821), v, 94-107)

^c The language rather suggests that the archbishop of Rouen was the writer of the letter, but it seems characteristic of Arnulf

eius ¹ regii sanguinis excellentia refulgebat, dignamque tanta nobilitate liberalis prudentia formabat industriam, ut alios sicut genere sic moribus excedere uideretur ² Traxit eum, et desideris nostris abstulit magnitudo uestra, ut propinquus genere fieret conuersatione propinquior, uestrisque cuius totus est mancipatus obsequiis apud magnificentiam uestram doctrine prouentum faceret et fortune Exultauit igitur, et se in multis beneficentiam uestram sensisse gausus est, tanto sane alacrior, quanto de primiciis gratie uestre maior poterat de futuro fiducia prouenire. Interim tamen, sicut ipse lacrimose ³ conqueritur, mota est aduersus innocentiam eius uestra serenitas, et a concepta spe elongatus est aliquantulum amicus et proximus, nisi quia desperationem excludit sinceritas conscientie, et uestre, si quid admissum est, humilis et deuota patientia discipline Preelegit enim apud misericordiam uestram deprecationis partibus uti, magis quam ⁴ contentiosis excusationem litigiis instaurare, quia, sicut magnanimitas uestra superbie cedere nescit, sic humilitati non sustinet obuiare. Sane, dum uobiscum esset, intellexit sepius quod plurimam nobis in oculis uestris gratiam bonitas diuina contulerat, que, tanto predicabilior est, quanto de gratuita liberalis animi uestri bonitate procedit. Preces itaque nostras de longinquo querendas censuit, ut eas possit uobis, uelut aliquod acceptabile munus, offerre, quatinus nostra culpam ipsius, si qua est, intercessio redimat, et ad indulgentiam motum seueritatis inclinet. Siquidem gloriosum erit nobis tantam apud maiestatem uestram gratie plenitudinem inuenisse, ut etiam a nobis in alios copiose dilectionis uestre ⁵ redundet ubertas

should forgive his relative, Philip de Chaumont, who bore an excellent character when at the church of Rouen

98. To Peter, archbishop of Tarentaise, and Richard,
archbishop of Canterbury.^a

[April-June 1174.] E, G.

Ad Tarentasiensem et Cantuariensem archiepiscopos.

fo. 119^v

Causam uenerabilis fratris nostri, *Reginaldi*, electi *Bathoniensis*,

¹ eorum, E ² uideretur excedere, C³

³ lacrimosus, C³ ⁴ tempus, C³

⁵ om, C³, altered from dilectioni redundet, D²

^a See above, p 154, note a

On behalf of
Reginald, bishop-
elect of Bath
Cf p 81

His virtues,

and the regu-
larity of his
election

The legitimacy
of his birth,
for his father,
Joscelyn bp of
Salisbury, was
not then in holy
orders.

Plea for his
consecration

audimus ab apostolica maiestate uestre experientie commendatam
Gauis sumus quod ueritatis amatoribus ueritatis est commissa
cognitio, apud quos nec iusticia periculum incurrere poterit, nec
innocentia detrimentum.

In quo si personam respicitis, uir est cuius prudentia, cuius
honestas, cuius uirtus et industria publice multis ipsisque probabili-
bus innotuit argumentis Si factum electionis inquiritur, omnium,
ad quos pertinet, in personam eius unanimi concordia uota con-
currunt, statumque ecclesie, multis labefactatum¹ temporibus,
certissime confidunt ipsius magnificentia reparandum. De eo
autem quod ei ab his, ad quos non pertinet, tam mendaciter quam
imprudenter² obiectum est, certis probationibus constabit uobis
nichil esse nisi odii et inuidie questionem. Nos uero, quibus de
proximo certius et facilius ueritas potuit apparere, de multorum,
quibus fides adhibenda creditur, testimonio, et publica assertione
didicimus natiuitatem huius, de qua queritur, sacros patris ordines
precessisse, ipsumque patrem eo tempore licite, si preoptasset,
militare uel matrimonium contrahere potuisse.

Agite itaque, et calumpniam hanc, quam non aliunde quam de
zelo malicie deprehendetis exortam,^a secundum datum uobis a deo
spiritum et potestatem media ratione discutite, nec uota ecclesie
ludificari diutius dilatione aliqua permittatis; set, munere huic
debite benedictionis indulto, ipsum quam citius ad ecclesiam
destinate, ut ex hoc nunc in spem meliorem attrite diutius ecclesie
desideria conualescant, seque populus ille optate consolationis sub-
sidia gaudeat assecutum.

99. To William de Passavant, bishop of Le Mans.

E; H¹^b

[1174.]

fo 120.

Ad Willelmum, Cenomanensem episcopum.

It is true that
suffragans ought
to attend the

Verum est in archiepiscopi electione suffraganeorum desiderari
presentiam, ut eorum, quibus preesse habet, consilio res utiliter

¹ labefactum uel labefactatum, E ² altered to impudenter, E.

^a In 1169 Becket called him, 'spurium, fornicarium, et ecclesiasticæ pacis
inimicum, sacerdotis filium' (*Materials*, vii, 181)

^b Two folios are missing from G, and so its derivative, H¹, has been collated.

disponi possit et conuentia confirmari.^a Asserunt autem canonici election of an archbishop, but the canons say that the election had to be hurried because of the troubled state of the country
 Turonenses se nichil in offensam uestram de presumptione aut superbia facere uoluisse, set, plurima necessitate compulsos, accelesse quod factum est, quoniam, si differrent, multa eis impedimenta, in detrimentum ecclesie multa obstacula comparebant. Set et de oportuno episcoporum aduentu maxime dubitabant, cum tempestas ipsa,¹ que circumquaque diffusa est,^b singulos in partibus suis detineat, et multis necessitatibus occupatos

Auduimus autem multis eorum non displicere quod factum est, Commendation of the archbishop-elect
 set adhibito confirmare consensu, quoniam, si quid in ordine facti minus obseruatum est, nota laudabilis persone merita recompensant.^c Sane, ut in electionibus ordinis diligentia inquiratur,² Cf p 4.
 institutum est, ut cautius et fidelius possit de persona idonea utilitati ecclesie prouideri, semperque persone meritum specialius amplectendum est, quam principali bono obseruantis quibushibet obsistendum. Quod enim fauore alicuius introductum est, hoc ad lesionem eius retorqueri non debet, maiorque fauor persone debet esse quam ordinis, quem institutum constat ad inquirendam potius personam idoneam quam tollendam. Super quo apud excellentiam uestram multorum desiderium nostrum et preces precibus duximus adiungendas, ut ad consensum operis et effectum uestra benignitas inclinetur, et, cum id ad uos principalius habeat pertinere, uestra possit promptior in operis executione et complemento gratia recognosci

Siquidem hoc facto multorum uobis laudem et gratiam acquires, Advises William not to persist in his grievance
 neque bonum est ut sanctitas uestra inter tot perturbationes et scandala, que ex omni parte, peccatis nostris exigentibus, incessanter emergunt, ad uindictam tolerabilis iniurie uestrae ecclesie, cuius tanquam maior et primogenitus filius estis, tantum perturbationis

¹ ista, *H*¹² requiratur, *H*¹

^a 'Celeberrimum est enim Cenomannensis Ecclesie Praesulem post Turonensem Archiepiscopum totius Turonensis dioceseos obtinere primatum, nullumque in Turonensis Episcopi Antistitem rite posse sacran [nisi per ipsum] et post decessum Archiepiscopi cuncta ejusdem Ecclesie negotia illius arbitrio debere disponi' ('Gesta Pontificum Cenomannensium', anno 1081, *H F*, xii, 542)

^b The rebellion of the king's sons. See above, p 1

^c Bartholomew, 1174-1201. Torgny (p 262) describes him as 'juvenis strenuus et genere nobilis'

inferat et laboris; ¹ et res fortassis, ad superius deducta iudicium, prosperos sortietur euentus Satiisque debet esse prudentie uestre omne rei complementum, quasi de uestro beneficio, cum multis gratiarum actionibus prouenire, quam, uobis inuito, a superiori procedere potestate

100. To Rotrou, archbishop of Rouen.

E; G

[c 1174]

fo 119^v

The crimes of a
renegade monk
of Cormeilles

Ad Rotrodum, Rothomagensen archiepiscopum.

Monachus ille, R,² olim Cormeliensis,^a pro quo sanctitatem uestram rescriptum apostolicum scribitis accepisse, de monasterio illo tercio ³ egressus est, et tercio misericorditer est receptus Egressus quarto, cum ipsum abbas et fratres pro commissis in ecclesia sacrilegis et furtis pluribus intra officinas multisque flagiciis, que etiam uerecundia prohibet recitare, duplici etiam sobole de meretricibus ante fores monasterii suscepta, suscipere recusarent, in presentia nostra et abbas Pratellensis ^b fratrumque nostrorum publice de omnibus tam conuictus quam confessus, ab abbate litteras dimissorias impetrauit, abiurato ad totam uitam abbatis monasterio et tota banleua monasterii, quia se ignem missurum publice fuerat | comminatus, abscessit ⁴ Porro cum ipse hoc postmodum ad noticiam Willelmi de Papia cardinalis,^c me et abbate presentibus, detulisset, recensita ueritate, ab ipso apostolice sedis auctoritate repulsus est et dampnatus. Exinde, perlustratis terris, reiecto prorsus habitu monastico, factus apostata, ut parcius dicam, omni se dissolutioni publice mancipauit.

fo. 120.

If the pope has
been deceived,
Rotrou should
provide for the
peace of the
monastery.

Nouissime si maiestatem apostolicam, cui hec nota esse non poterant, circumuenire mendacis attemptauit, apud uos ueritati et iusticie preiudicare non debet, cui nos eorum, que dicimus, manifestam faciemus per omnia ueritatem Scitis autem prudentiam apostolicam nichil in rebus dubis precipere diffinitum, set

¹ tantum et laboris inferat et perturba[t]ionis, H¹

² G, G. ³ om, G

⁴ Excision of two folios in G causes the loss of the rest of this letter

^a Benedictine abbey in the diocese of Lisieux, 22 kms NE of Lisieux

^b Préaux, Benedictine abbey in the diocese of Lisieux, near Pont-Audemer
The abbot would be Henry I, once monk of Bec

^c ? 1160. See above, p. 54.

omnia mandata eius conditionem habent implicitam, scilicet, si preces ueritate nitantur, eisque, quibus huiusmodi mandata mittuntur, in omnem causam partes iudicis, cognitio scilicet et pronunciatio, reseruantur. Quæti itaque monasterii et claustralis discipline sanctitas uestra prouideat, ne, reducto auctore iniquitatis, ceterorum, qui per penam istius correcti sunt, reuiuiscat audacia, et exemplo uenie remissioris ipsorum denuo malicia conualescat.

101. To Pope Alexander III.

[? 1175] F¹

lxxxviiij Ad Alexandrum papam.

fo 52^v

Ad audientiam maiestatis uestre cuiusdam illustris uiri querela On behalf of a
perfertur, quem pluribus de causis co[n]stat michi multiplici ratione cuckolded
deuinctum, ut ei in necessitatibus suis iure teneat prestare, preeunte magnate
quidem iusticia, consilium et auxilium oportunum. Vxorem habet,
ad quam, cum tocius paterne hereditatis prouentura successio
crederetur, producit ex insperato puella, et de secreto furtiue
educationis adducitur, quam sub diuturna uiri absentia de adulterio
progenitam tota terra cognouit, atque is, qui pater exquiritur,
publice coram episcopo loci, coram archiepiscopo prouincie, coram
etiam ipso rege requisitus, suam esse constantissime pernegauit,
omnesque fere, quibus illa proxima cognatione coniuncta est, testi-
monium legitime natiuitatis nulla presumunt audacia perhibere.
Sub hac igitur spe optinende dolo hereditatis nupsit cuidam, qui,
cum fautoribus suis, falsum patrem tam minis quam promissis
solicitat, ut eum a persecutione publice protestate ueritatis auertat.
Appellatum est ad uos, apud quem ueritati et iusticie non poterit
dolus uel uiolentia preualere, nosque eo securius uestre scribendum
duximus maiestati, quia non quasi preces de incerta re, sed de nota
perhibemus ¹ testimonium ueritate

¹ prohibemus, MS

102. To Pope Alexander III.

F¹[^p c. 1175]fo 52^v.

lxxxix Ad eundem

Warns the pope
of John de
Grimoville, an
excommunicate
priest
fo. 53
His crimes

Si uenerit ad presentiam maiestatis uestre sacerdos quidam, Iohannes nomine de Grimouilla, uenientem sapienter accipite, quoniam excom[m]unicatus est, et per annos circiter x in excommunicatione permansit, siquidem manus uiolentas | iniecit in monachum, ipsumque sacerdotem, sauciumque et plurimo cruore perfusum, sicut dicitur, penitus occidisset, nisi eum fortiter hi, qui stabant cum monacho, reppulissent

His later career

Quo facto, cum manifestum esset eum in anathematis commisisse sententiam, nec absolutionem a Romano pontifice querere uoluit, neque satisfacere monacho, nec nobis aliquatenus obedire, sed, ad remotas partes alterius episcopatus abscedens, sub predicto uinculo furtim ordinem sacerdotis accepit, et in partibus illis, me ignorante, in ordine sic percepto publice ministravit. Ad hanc uero peruersitatem exercendam ipsum a primis adolescentie sue annis ceca traxit ambitio, acquirende scilicet in episcopatu nostro cuiusdam parrochialis ecclesie, quam per uiolentiam plebeie multitudinis, cui ipse cognatione coniunctus erat, credidit optinere. In qua, cum xu. annorum et eo amplius spatia consumpsisset, nullis meritis a me nulla iusticia debuit exaudiri, quia me ex ea causa frequenter offendere, et ecclesiam multis iniuriis non destitit infestare. Defuncto itaque sacerdote, qui in ecclesia illa annis circiter xl. ministrauerat, ego ad monachorum Pratellensium ^a representationem, ad quos pertinebat, personam idoneam subrogavi, eoque celerius, ut esset qui peruicacie ipsius posset obsistere, ne scilicet iste uacantem ecclesiam confideret facilius occupare. Frustratus hic, et omni diutine spei solacio destitutus, a legatis uestris ^b ad archiepiscopum ^c litteras impetrauit, ipsumque ad eum, sublata michi ignorantia et inuito ordinaria iurisdictione, miserunt. Apud quem, quia inter propinquos et consocios agebatur, tanta aduersus eum processit instructio, ut ipsius facile crimina conuinci possent et calumpnia deprehendi.

^a The Benedictine house of Préaux, near Pont-Audemer, in the diocese of Lisieux, which had the patronage of many churches in the diocese

^b Probably Albert and Theodwin (see note to ep no 83), who made a visitation of Norman monasteries in the summer of 1172 (Eyton)

^c Rotrou of Warwick

Interceptus itaque manifeste ueritatis inditus, cum ei alia non pateret occasio, ad audientiam uestram ab archiepiscopo, quem iudicem preelegerat, appellauit, sperans, si cause fuerit delegata cognitio, iudicem iuramentis circumuenire fallatibus uel uexationibus aliquid extorquere. Quia igitur, uno per mendacium optinente, plurimum audacia conualescit exemplo, publice interest ut benignitas uestra peruersitati huiusmodi hominum nimis credula non existat, nec iudices de optione sua, sed de uestra potius experientia sortiantur, siquidem pertinaci a uobis postulant instantia, quos redimi posse confidunt, uel quibus ad omnem casum familiari gratia sunt coniuncti.

His appeal from
the archbishop

Vnde si eum, de quo scribimus, in uestra presentia contigerit inueniri, si placet, queri facite a quo episcopo primum, a quo nouissime fuerit ordinatus; quis eum a sanguine sacerdotis absoluerit; a quo et quo tempore ei fuerit donata ecclesia, quam querit, cum infra hoc triennium sacerdos decesserit, quem ibi constat plus annis xl continue ministrasse, nec ecclesia huic potuit ullo iure, superstitute sacerdote, conferri, quod si ab ordinatione mea, qua primum usus est, ad alium episcopum sine conscientia mea et dimissione transiit, manum ordinatoris agnoscat et titulum quem accepit, quia ego aliene ordinationis clericum, ipsiusque | furtiue, fo 53^r de iure recipere non compellor, presertim quem tantis noui criminibus irretitum.

Questions to be
asked him

103. To his nephew, Hugh de Nonant.^a

[? c 1175] F¹.

xc Ad Hugonem, Lexouiensem archidiaconum, nepotem suum. fo 53^r

Literas penitentie et conuersionis tue letabundus accepi, que utinam de sincera uoluntate processerint, et in fidei stabili ueritate consistant. Quia uero operibus credendum esse doctrina ueritatis instruumur, opera contemplantur, que utinam talia sint, ut ueterum debeant delere memoriam, condignosque faciant fructus, quibus detrimenta precedentia reconpensent. Si uero animus, quem ab initio in multis utilem et benignum gratis expertus es, tua, ut parcius dicam, negligentia denigrauit, a colore concepto in antiquum candorem procedentia poterunt merita reuocare, et ingenuos

Rejoices in his
penitence, which
he hopes is
sincere.

^a See above, p. lvi.

quidem mores tuos ab offensione nostra percepta debent beneficia cohibere, donec aliquam uel in modico gratiarum retuleris actionem.

*Audiat ingratus!*¹ Sane ingrati dampnatus omni beneficio se probat indignum, adeo ut ex ea causa libertus in seruitutem reuocari possit, et qui de percepta misericordia alii non inperit, usque ad nouissimum quadrantem in eo, quod dimissum est, diuino iudicio condempnatur.

104. To William de Tournbu, dean of Bayeux.^a

F¹

[Spring 1175]

fo 52

As he is going to England he leaves the hearing of a case to his co-judge, William

lxxxvi. Ad Willelmum, decanum Baiocensem.

Sicut nouit prudentia uestra causam, que inter *Cenomanensem* episcopum^b et Clementem uertitur, sub eo modo nobis et uobis Romani pontificis delegauit auctoritas, ut, si alter nostrum non uellet uel non posset interesse, alter nichilominus sine appellationis obstaculo diffiniret. In quo manifeste datur intelligi in absentia alterius totam alteri consignari cognitionis et iudicii potestatem, nec is, qui absens est, ius habet uices suas alii committendi, quia in alterum tota negotii decidendi concedit auctoritas, sicut eius, qui delegauit, superior excellentia prefiniuit. Porro quia me in Angliam multarum inopportunitatum ad presens trahit instantia,^c oportebit uos locum utriusque supplere, causamque singulari iudicio diffinire.

105. To Walter de Coutances.^d

F¹.

[April-May 1175.]

fo 54.

Describes his confused actions after dismissal by the king.

xcij. Ad Galterum de Constancus.

Quod ita, sicut audistis et uidistis, a domino rege dimissus sum, gratia michi uestra compassa est, et confusioni mee meisque condoluit

¹ *Marginal note in hand of the corrector*

^a c 1150-79, when he was elected to the bishopric of Coutances.

^b William de Passavant

^c See above, p lxi

^d This royal officer, vice-chancellor in 1173 and keeper of the seal, successfully crowned his official career with the king by becoming archdeacon of Oxford in 1175, bishop of Lincoln in 1183 and archbishop of Rouen in 1184. During King Richard's absence on the Crusade, Walter was involved in the

detrimentis. Sane in articulo temporis illius pregravis meroris amaritudine adeo animo consternatus sum, ut, quicquid michi potius agendum esset, uidere non possem; sed potissimum celerem fugam remedium credidi, ideoque a facie indignationis eius quam-tocius tanquam fugitiuus exiui. Reuertens itaque, cum animus meus ad multa deliberatione plurima raptaretur, cogitavi quod celerem exitum meum non metum sed contemptum potius et superbiam reputaret, quia motum eius nec diutina supplicatione, neque longis fueram precibus prosecutus. Deceui itaque ad ipsum cum omni festinatione reuerti, ut, quod minus bene factum fuerat, uidere-tur prudentior penitentia restaurare, et suspicata superbia humili-tatis substantia tolleretur. A domo itaque mea, quam prope Baiocas habeo, eger Cerasiacum usque perueni,^a ibique adeo michi inpotentia contracte debilitatis inualuit, ut progredi, salua corporis incolumitate, non possem, quia omnes fere uires corporis mei consumpserat labor et auditas reuertendi.

He fled to Nonant, and returned to Censy-la-Forêt

Cum itaque decidissem in lectum, nichil aliud potui quam uice mea litteras et nuntium destinare, ut apud dominum meum negotia mea litterarum ueritas et nuntii sedulitas explicarent. Quem etiam ad dilectionem uestram censui precipue destinandum, ut studio uestro oportune introducatur ad regem, et uos, si ita poterit accidere, litteras audiatis, ut inde scilicet maiorem occasionem possitis accipere, quid uobis agendum sit aut dicendum. In litteris autem nichil nisi humilitas et supplicatio continetur, adeo ut, si uelit de liberalitate regia reminisci, ad exaudiendum iure debeat inclinari.^b

As he is ill he is writing to the king, and asks for Walter's intervention

disputes surrounding Longchamp and Prince John, and he acted as justiciar from 1191 to 1193. He died in 1207 (*DNB.*, Haskins, *Norman institutions*, pp. 130 n., 180; Powicke, *The loss of Normandy*, *passim*). A useful account of his archiepiscopate is given by Sidney R. Packard, 'King John and the Norman Church', *The Harvard Theological Review*, xv (1922), 27, *seqq.* For this letter, see above, p. liii.

^a Arnulf's journey was from Nonant (Calvados) to the Benedictine abbey of Censy-la-Forêt, 17 kms N.W. of St. Lo, which was on the route to Barfleur, where Henry embarked in May.

^b This letter is probably the next.

106. To King Henry II.^aid G^b

[April-May 1175]

Ad Henricum, regem Angliæ seniore.

essen-
kung,
L.

Venturus eram ad uos, set me senectus et infirmitas et debilitas retinent, quasi quibusdam reprimendis impotentie uinculis alligatum; set et a multis partibus multis uxor iniuriis, in quibus nullum remedium nisi de gratia uestre bonitatis expecto. Mitto itaque ad uos Iohannem de abbatia,^c hominem fidelem uobis pariter et deuotum, quem audire uice mea et precibus meis ad momentum uelitis aures regias inclinare

in-
and
ser-

Obsecro reminiscatur excellentia uestra fidei, deuotionis et obsequii honori et utilitati uestre ab ineunte pueritia uestra a me semper exhibiti, et in oportunitatibus meis apud uos merita mea michi quandoque respondeant, nec impotentiam senectutis mee dignetur magnificentia uestra contere, set hominem, ad omnem patientiam cum omni humilitate uoluntati uestre semper expositum, liberalitate regia confouete,¹ et nouissimos dies meos, quibus adhuc apud uos modico tempore futurus sum, permittatis, immo faciatis, in leticia consummare. Non me permittit puritas conscientie mee de uestra sapientia desperare, apud quam sepius in multis et maximis gratiam merui, et, si quid quandoque per ignoran[t]iam aut simplicitatem minus prudenter actum est, fides semper et ueritas et sedulitas impensi incessanter officii compensauit

its of
ce.

Ad summam meliora sunt uere diligenti seuera consilia, quam fallax assentatio blandientis, sicut nouissimo tempore grauibus indicis uestra maiestas experta est, quando scilicet, amicis fere desperantibus, magnificentie uestre terror inualuit, et omnes conatus hostium uestrorum, deo propicio, uestra sunt industria pariter et uirtute compressi.^d Memini adhuc, neque hoc unquam aliquid a mea poterit extorquere memoria, sublimitatem uestram me inter inicia uestra in ulteriorem gratiam recepisse,² meumque semper, quo sepius utebamini, uobis in omni tranquillitate profecisse con-

¹ confouere, H¹.² suscepisse uel recepisse, E^a See above, p. lxx. This was probably covered by the preceding letter^b Part of this letter is excised in G, and so its derivative, H¹, is collated^c The Benedictine abbey of Censy-la-Forêt, where Arnulf was lying ill (see previous letter)^d A reference to the rebellion of the king's sons in 1173

silium, adeo ut nichil unquam dispendii, nichil laboris, nichil cuiuslibet confusionis attulerit, set omnium operum uestrorum quasi de miraculo procedere magnalia uidebantur. Non erat qui uestre presumeret obsistere potestati, quia tunc omne opus uestrum disponebat ratio, dirigebat iusticia, misericordia temperabat.

Postquam uero mendax adulatorum turba conualuit, potuitque letalia uenenati mellis blandimenta licenter infundere, affectioni iusticia, ratio cepit cedere uoluntati, et meliore consilio preformatos olim sensus in contrarios quandoque dolosa sedulitate conuertit affectus. Vnde nimirum certum est ortum esse quod accidit, quia radix, que uiriditatem de iusticie ¹ et ueritatis humore non contrahit, ad iocundos et utiles fructus nouissime peruenire non potest. Sane uerum est bona quandoque uexationibus concuti, et que mala sunt fallaci quadam ad tempus leticia prosperari, set diuino iudicio semper suos nouissime rerum meritis respondet euentus.

Sic est. inconsultorum operum exitus infelices penitentia sera prosequitur, que dolori quidem materiam comparat, set nulla eorum, que prouenerunt, detrimenta restaurat. Inde uerbum celebre sapientis illius est. Omnia fac cum consilio, *et post factum non penitebis*. Porro *consilium est aliquid faciendi uel non faciendi uere excogitata ratio*, sicut Tulliana nobis eloquentia diffinit.² Intelligat dominus meus tria diffinitionem formare consilii. ueritatem, diligentiam, rationem, ut scilicet quod fit aut dicitur, nitatur ueritate, dirigatur studio, ratione formetur. Quicquid enim stabilem non contrahit de ueritate substantiam, ruine et defectui necessario tenetur obnoxium, ut scilicet ³ quod de nichilo ortum est redigatur in nichilum, nec in fundamenti alicuius soliditate subsistit, quod quasi de inani quodam prestigio falsitatis effulsit. Huius etiam, que uera sunt, oportet semper cum instanti diligentia rationis adhibere iudicium, ne quis alienam quietem turbare uel ius alienum confidentia potestatis presumat inuadere, set, modum iusticie continenter amplexus, superioribus reuerenciam, gratiam inferioribus, parem proximis exhibeat caritatem, et, ad omnem partem mentis acie callide circumducta, sic omnes omnium de propria conscientia metiatur affectus, ut alius se talem in beneficiis et offensis curet inpendere, quales eos uellet in suis opportunitatibus inuenire.

Verum qui presunt, officii sui debitum arcus tenentur agnoscere, ut se dominium potius ad custodiam quam ad uolentiam accepisse cognoscant; nec eum, cui cura est de illis, deum scilicet, putent

The results of
bad counsel
Cf pp 169, 173
and 217

Disquisition
on counsel

Ecclus xxvii, 24

De Invent. i, 25,
36

On government.

¹ iusticia, H¹

² diffiniuit, H¹

³ uidelicet, H¹

L.A.L.

R

ob aliam causam eis fastigium dignitatis, copiam diuitiarum, potentie gloriam contulisse, nisi ut eos in opus ministeru collocaret, reddituros nimirum de singulis suo tempore sub seuro districti iudicis examine rationem. Qui ergo periculum administrationis accepit, rationem prepararet ad reddendum, quia usque ad quadrantes comminatur se qui credidit exacturum. Quod si sua cum huiusmodi potentibus gloria non descendit, nec enim eis ascensus promittitur set descensus,¹ quid exigenti proferet, qui nichil reseruauit sibi quod habeat ad soluendum? Nempe carnem et spiritum, quia nichil est eorum, que rapta sunt, quod subsistat; neque alius esse poterit satisfactionis modus, nisi ut penam perpetuam soluat, qui non habet aliud unde possit a debito perpetuo liberari. Meminisse debent ab eo sibi commissos esse, qui eos proprii sanguinis redemit impendio, et mortis etiam amaritudine liberauit, a quo eiusdem substantie naturam, idem redemptionis precium perceperunt, et eiusdem gratiam mercedis expectant. Vnde, si omnium eadem natura, omnium idem precium, omnium eadem consummatio et merces est, non est de quo alii aduersus alios possint privilegio gloriari, nisi quia, qui presunt, grauiori ruine et maiori periculo sunt obiecti.

Exhortation.

Scrpsi diffusius, quia uerborum copiam deuotio ministrabat, singulaque michi dictu necessaria uidebantur, ut fidelis ammonitio uestre uos faciat glorie reminisci. Vtinam uiros uirtutis et consilia fortium regia maiestas estimet et agnoscat, ne spiritus iniquitatis et mendacii fallacibus blandiculis robur animi regalis potestatis eneruet, et ad opera malicie uel defectus contrahat et inclinet.

107. ? To Richard, bishop of Winchester.^a

F¹.

[Summer 1175]

fo 52.
Arnulf's failure
with the king in
England.

lxxxvij. Quantum apud dominum nostrum regem profecerim in Anglia uos uidistis,^b qui mecum ad tediosam inportune supplica-

¹ *G continues after its break*

^a The rubric has not been inserted in the MS, but there can be little doubt that the letter was sent to his old friend, Richard of Ilchester, who was with the king at this time, and who was Arnulf's only ally at court (ep no. 119). Cf contemporary list of contents (F¹, fo 1v) 'Hec epistola creditur ad R. Wint, episcopum fuisse directa'.

^b See above, p. lvi

tionis durastis instantiam, et demum seuerioris repulse contumeliam reportastis Timeo induratum aduersum me, nec facile ad cor ullo unquam tempore rediturum, quia concepta semel ira uel odium nec placari facile consuevit, nec ad gratiam reuocari ^a

Et ego quidem a secundo anno regni ipsius id crebris ipsisque certissimis inditiis intellexi, quoniam innocentiam meam semper exinde, uel manifeste uel quasi occulte, sub typo quodam dissimulate seueritatis oppressit, et omnem tam a me quam a meis prouentum cuiuslibet honoris uel utilitatis exclusit Non potuit fidei puritas, uel sedulitas obsequi, uel labor intemperans, uel sumptus excedens, uel industria consilii in magnis uel maximis rebus, efficaciter et ad gloriam maiestatis insistens, concepti sine causa rancoris amaritudinem declinare, sed mirabili peruersitate, que gratiam penitus redemisse debuerant, sincera potius odium merita prouocabant. Instabam itaque fortius, et quasi ad eumcendum merita meritis cumulare certabam, ut, inspecta laudabilium operum luce, erubesceret adulatorum confusa malignitas, et ab inuito domino etiam fauorem frequens et officiosa ueritas extorqueret Non perficiebam, et ipse tamen interim meo nichilominus instanter utebatur officio, et, exclusum ab his, que ad proprium libere disponere preualebat arbitrium, studiose ac memoriter ad maiora considerata uocabat, in quibus eum ad habendum consilium tum rei quantitas, tum periculosus euentus, tum difficultatis angustia | conpellebat

The weakness of his position
Cf pp 167, 173 and 217

fo 52^v.

Vicesimus annus exactus est,^b ex quo ego miserabiliter in hoc agone sudauit, quia indefessam perseverantiam conscientia sincera firmabat, quia excellentium iugis exhibitio meritorum Non peccaui, et, si quid forte peccatum est, reatus tamen libertatem regie clementie non excedit, et sine dolore meo debuit saltem detrimentis nil male merentis ecclesie commoueri, ne de aliena afflictione gloriam neque dulcem sibi de aliena amaritudine contrahere uoluptatem Mirum autem est quod inter iniurias, quas patior, et lacrimas affluentes nondum de uisceribus meis potuit zelus altius radicate dilectionis auelli, nichilque michi constat amarius, quam quod fidelissimo crimen fraudis inponit, diligentique rependit odium, nec in aliqua me permittit in futurum existimationis eius et gratie fiducia respirare

His services to the king
Cf pp 170 and 172

Mitto ei literas omni humilitate et supplicatione plenissimas, sicut uobis ex rescripto earum poterit apparere, quas uellem ei, explorata

He is sending a humble letter, ? no 108, to the king

^a For references to a similar description in John of Salisbury and Peter of Blois, see above, p. lii, n 3

^b Cf the figures given in epp nos 108 and 110

oportunitate, sub presentia uestre caritatis offerri, ut eas semel totas, uestro studio intercedente, sustineret audire, michique a uobis significari litteris, si quod responsum acceperitis aut speratis effectum ^a

108. To King Henry II.^bF¹.

[? Summer 1175.]

fo 53^v

Arnulf is hurrying to meet the king, and begs for a reconciliation
Cf. pp 4-32, 141 and 188

xc1. Ad Henricum regem Anglie seniore.

Audita instanti transfretatione¹ uestra, ad uos, tanquam ad dominum meum, uenire cum omni festinatione curauit, ut oculis meis regni uultus serenitas illuceret, et impotentiam senectutis et debilitatis mee iocundi sermonis uestri gratia recitaret. Ueni equidem, sed longe aliter quam speraueram omnia processerunt, quoniam non nisi in paucis audiri merui, nec in quolibet aliquatenus exaudiri. Veni, inquam, dicturus, sicut existimabam, uobis uale nouissimum, atque idem a uobis cum gaudio recepturus, ut post tot merita mea et excedentia beneficentia uestra in nouissimo discessu ad bonum perpetue caritatis et pacis animum sibi inuicem concordia responderent. Quicquid autem acciderit, aut quocumque futurorum se conuertat euentus, gloria mea erga uos est testimonium conscientie mee, quoniam ab omni delicto prorsus immunis sum, et inter omnes, quorum honori et utilitati uestre fides et deuotio profuit, ut modestius dicam, mea possunt maioribus merita coequari.

His service with the king
Cf. pp 169 and 172

Siquidem xxx^{us} annus exactus est, ex quo ego semper in obsequiorum uestrorum agone sudaui.^c Quod si aliquando delatorum inuidia aduersum me motum uestre mentis quemlibet excitauit, tanto steti

¹ transfretatione, MS

^a Cf *Liber exemplorum*, ed A G Little (Brit Soc. Franciscan Studies, vol 1, 1908), p 123. Notum est autem quod in curiis principum querentibus gratiam necessarij sunt adiutores et intercessores.

^b See above, pp liii, seqq. If the statement that Arnulf had served the king for 30 years (see line 16) is not a mistake, the letter must refer to Henry's return to Normandy in April 1180, and not to his departure in May 1175. On the Pipe Rolls, moreover, *transfretatio* means a crossing to Normandy (R L Poole, 'Early correspondence of John of Salisbury', in *Studies in chronology and history*, p 270). But the tone of the letter and the reference to a recent meeting between Arnulf and Henry favour the date given here.

^c Cf the figures given in epp nos 107 and 110.

securius, tanto uirilius et efficacius institi, ut adulatorum mendacia iure fide mea possent et magnificentia reprobari. Cepi a puero, et uos per adolescentiam, iuuentutem, uirilem etatem ad senectutis annos prope perduxī, totumque corpus et animam, studium et laborem, pecuniam atque tempus impendi; michique numquam aliquid fuit delectabilius quam honori uestro et prouentibus inseruire, ea certe fiducia, ut michi in nouissimis diebus meis liberaliter excellentia regia responderet. Si non deliqui, cur patior? Cur non magis credit dominus meus ueritati operum meorum, quam incertis suspicionibus et mendacis delatorum? Quod si deliqui, quod non uenia sed ultione dignum debeat iudicari. Salua uobis est ultio, *fo 54* dum tamen sententia non de incerto, sed legitime de rerum ueritate procedat. Ad summam hoc unum, ipsumque precipuum, a domino meo cunctis uellem precibus impetrare, ut michi de beniuolentia ipsius spes aliqua relinquatur, quam in sinu meo custodiam uelut thesaurum absconditum, atque in ipsa michi liceat omni tempore respirare.

Dicturus eram uobis aliqua cum a uobis recessi, sed oportuna michi non refulsit occasio, que tamen per latorem presentium in scedula uobis scripta transmittō, quorum si qua uobis facere placuerit, ego cum omni gratiarum actione recipiam. Quod autem differre uolueritis, ego in silentio cum omni humilitate et patientia sustinebo.

He encloses
another letter,
no. 109

109. To King Henry II.^a[August 1175.] *F*¹.

lxxxiiij. Ad Henricum regem Anglie seniore.

fo 51

Sicut uobis in Normannia dixeram, ueni in Angliam ad uota orationum domino persoluenda.^b Cumque inde ad presentiam domini mei magno desiderio traherer, audiui uos Eboracum et ad remotas illuc tendere regiones,^c michique nulla spes relicta est, nullaque fiducia consequendi. Proficiscor tamen lento licet itinere, quia celeritatem michi senectus et debilitas non indulgent, sed quasi quibusdam reprimendis inpotencie nexibus detinent alligatum.

He has come to
England, but
hears that the
king has gone
to York

^a See above, p. lvi.^b After crossing to England in May 1175, the king and the young Henry visited Becket's tomb on 28 May (Eyton).^c Henry was at York on 10 August (Eyton).

Request for an
interview

Placeat igitur domino meo precipere michi, ubi et quando uestre possim occurrere maiestati, ne quod potentie michi residuum est incerto ideoque uago circuitu consumatur.¹ Desidero etenim quam primum uidere faciem domini mei, ut oculis meis iocunda regni uultus serenitas illucescat, et ab iniuriis diutinisque laboribus exhibita michi solita benignitate respirem Valete

110. To King Henry II.

F¹.

[Summer 1175]

fo 51r.

lxxxv. Ad eundem.

He has come to
England, but
nothing has
been done.

fo 51v

Plea for pardon

Orationis causa profectus in Angliam, statim ad uidendam domini mei faciem festinaui, quia me ad hoc tam deuocio quam necessitas inuitauit.^a Audistis me, et in aliquibus exaudistis, sed | adhuc uobis maiora differre in futurum, adiecta tamen promissione, in qua de iocunda michi collate spei securitate respiro

Promisistis siquidem quod exinde mea diligenti inspectione opera probaretis, et, secundum meritorum qualitatem, suo tempore apud uos mea michi iusticia responderet. Gausus sum, de sincera bone conscientie mee ueritate confisus, que nulla culpa excellentiam uestram exasperare patietur, uel beniuolentiam denigrari; neque ex hoc nunc prudentiam uestram circumueniet astuta malignitas inuidorum, sed, secundum doctrinam ewangelii, ipsis credetis operibus, et uestra de manifestis rerum argumentis censura procedet. Atque utinam cum inspectione presentium uelit aliquando perpetue fidei deuotionis et obsequii mei uestra dignatio reminisci, et que inter alios meo singulariter consilio et industria honori uestro et utilitati quandoque prouenerint, quos denique labores et sumptus uobiscum cum omni semper hilaritate pertulerim, quibus uires corporis et rerum facultates per triginta² v^{que}³ annos continuos attrite sunt et consumpte.^b Successisse michi dicerem, immo animi

Cf. pp. 169 and
170.

¹ consummatur, MS

² triginta, MS

³ v^{que} added in the margin in the same hand

^a Cf ep no 109, by which this letter may be covered, and see above, p lvi

^b If 35 is correct he must be speaking of his tenure of the episcopal see, 25 would be the number of years of royal service But cf the figures given in epp nos 107 and 108.

leticia gloriarer, si uel in modico uestre sensissem inhesisse memorie ea, in quibus nullo modo decipi potuistis, sed oculata fide et multiplici semper agnouistis effectu.

Et ego qu[is]dem a secundo anno regni uestri gratiam uestram, qua me semper fueratis exuberanter complexus, sensi michi quorundam delationibus inminutam, quos ego certe bona fide familiaritati et consiliis uestris admoueram, quia prudentiam eorum et industriam uobis utilem fore credebam, et me ab eis apud uos in ea, quam merueram, beniuolentia conseruandum. Porro euenit michi quod infelici multis experimento certum est euenisse, ab eis me scilicet aliquantulum repulsum esse, qui mea fuerant sedulitate promoti. Sic enim est. inter eos, qui uiris sublimibus sunt acceptiores et intimi, sepius rara fides uertitur et rara dilectio, seque student multis artibus preuenire, quia quisque sibi credit attribuendum quicquid fuerit alii derogatum. Quo sane intellecto, censui honori uestro et utilitatibus fortius insistendum, ut studium et perseuerantia mea confusionem posset inferre fallacibus, et michi plenitudinem gratie uestre, cuius manifestum erat aliquas adhuc restare reliquias, reparare. Profeci aliquando, sed ad antiquam plenitudinem peruenire non potui, sed in nouissimis uehementius exasperatum sentio, quem ego in nouissimis, deo teste, totum speraueram sincera fide et promptissimis obsequiis redemisse.

Reuertatur utique dominus meus ad cor, quoniam miserendi tempus aduenit, nec ego propono apud uos ulterius de meis aliquid meritis allegare, sed solam humiliter implorare clementiam, que, quanto desiderabilior est, tanto maioris debet in principibus estimari, quam, si penitentie delinquentium impendi gloriosum est, profecto non debet innocentie denegari. Notum me toti fere orbi longior et discursus multiplex reddidit et acceptum, atque inhumanum fortasse reputabitur a pluribus, si innocentiam meam et nouissime senectutis tempus uestra seuerius dignatio prosequatur, si duriores tuleritis de ambigua suspitione, potius quam de rerum ueritate sententiam, si imminentis sepulture claustrum cum lacrimis et merore feceritis introire, si statum ecclesie labefactari sustinueritis, quam in diebus meis de paupere diuitem, sublimem de humili, predicabilem de obscura uestre serenitatis beneficia reddiderunt.

His position has long been weakened by informers, who owed him gratitude

Cf pp 167, 169 and 217.

*De inuidis et delatoribus*¹
Cf pp 14-67, 186 and 216

Request for mercy

His fame in the world. Cf. p. 187. fo 52.

¹ Marginal note in hand of the corrector

III. To Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter.^aF¹.

[Autumn 1177]

fo 63^v.

Complains of
the bishop's
conduct in re-
spect of the
chapelry of
Bosham

cxij. Ad Bartholomeum, Exoniensem episcopum.

Quid ego fecerim uobis, aut quid sanctitas michi uestra promiserit,¹ a uestra non credo memoria decidisse. Dedi enim litteras uobis ad regem, quibus ipse motus est aduersum me, uobisque, sumpta inde occasione, capellaniam contulit, quia uisum est ei me uobis eam penitus resignasse. Litteras etiam transcribi fecit, et transcriptum in Normanniam attulit.^b Cumque ego ab eo causam quererem sublata michi capellanie, respondit se non abstulisse michi, sed me uobis eam litterarum, quas protulit, testimonio contulisse, sustinere se uelle quod feceram, quia in ea parte nolebat uoluntati mee in aliquo contraire

Reminds him of
their pact.
fo 64.

Meminisse debet prudentia uestra uos a lunginquo retro tempore rogasse me, ne prouentum uestrum impedirem, | si modo quolibet impenetrare possetis a rege, saluo michi scilicet per manum uestram omni capellanie redditu dum uuxero, et ego quidem sub hac expressa conditione feci uobis quicquid uoluistis, sicut rex ipse publice proficitur. Neque ego aliquas a uobis requirere uolui cautiones, quia sufficere michi uidebatur ad fidem uerbum sacerdotis et episcopi, quod cum asseueratione plurima procedebat. Committo rem totam conscientie uestre, ut ipsa inter me et uos iusto iudicio iudicet, et uos ipse causam et iudicium faciatis.

¹ permiserit, MS

^a See above, pp lxx, seq., and the next letter. The royal free chapel of Bosham, a peculiar in the diocese of Chichester, was an ancient foundation where St Wilfrid found the only traces of Christianity among the South Saxons in 681: a college of secular priests was established, which was so well endowed with land that it was worth over £300 in the Confessor's time. Edward granted the benefice to his Norman chaplain, Osbert, who, as bishop of Exeter, continued to hold it after the Conquest, and transmitted it to his successors. The value of the benefice, had, however, considerably diminished. Under Bishop William Warelwast, Bosham was transformed into a college of 6 secular canons, of which the bishop of Exeter was dean. See *VCH Sussex*, i, 374, n, 109, seqq., etc.

^b The king crossed to Normandy in August 1177 (Eyton).

112. To Richard of Ilchester, bishop of Winchester.

[1177-9] F¹.

cvij. Ad Ricardum, Wintoniensem episcopum.

fo. 62.

Credo uos fidei retinere memoria Willelmum de Ferendona uicariam loci illius ^a a tempore Turstini, ^b per totum ipsius et Ricardi filii eius ^c tempus, usque ad mea tempora possedissee Cumque capellaniam michi regis munificentia contulisset, defuncto postmodum Ricardo, per quem Willelmus eo uiuente tenuerat, ego uicariam eandem predicto Willelmo in perpetuum concessi, quibusdam additis que ipsius a me uidebatur obsequium et deuotio meruisse. Itaque eum uobis tanquam episcopo presentauit, et uos id, quod feceram, benignius episcopali auctoritate firmastis. Postmodum uero ecclesiam nepoti nostro uestra intercessione donauit, salua nimirum Willelmo uicaria quam ei ante donaueram, idque nichilominus a uestra benignitate concessum est, idemque Willelmus aliquibus annis in eadem possessione permansit. Nouissime placuit bonitati uestre ipsum de eadem ecclesia remouere, et sine omni culpa eius quedam bona ipsius mobilia detinere. Teneor ergo pauperi, quia aliquandiu michi fidelis extitit et deuotus, nec ei negare possum quin ego apud sanctitatem uestram pro eo quibus possum precibus intercedam Videte quid facitis, quia non est bonum pro tam modica re sacerdotis et episcopi conscientiam denigrari, meque ipsius non potest inopia non mouere, eo quod ipse aliquando se et sua mee profusus exhibuit uoluntati.

Complains of the
ejection of the
vicar of
Faringdon,
Hants.

^a The church of Faringdon, Hants, formed part of the chapelry of Bosham (see above, p. liv, and the previous letter and note), and its manor was part of the honour pertaining to that church (*VCH Hants*, i, 469a). The patronage was recovered by the bishops of Exeter (*Registrum Johannis de Pontissara*, ed. C. Deedes (Canterbury and York Soc. & Surrey Record Soc., 1915-24), i, 162).

^b Thurstin, sheriff of Hampshire, Mich. 1155-9 (Eyton).

^c Richard fitz Thurstin, sheriff of Hampshire, 1159-70 (Eyton, and *List of sheriffs for England and Wales* (Public Record Office, Lists and Indexes, ix, 1898)).

113. To Richard, bishop of Avranches ^a and his colleagues.

[1178-9]

F¹

fo 65

fo 65^v

The disputed
election to the
abbey of Gre-
stain

cxviiij. Ad Ricardum, Abrincensem episcopum, et collegas eius |

Orta est in episcopatu nostro iam diu in monasterio Gristonensi controuersia super abbatis electione,^b que procedentibus apellationibus ad Romanum usque pontificem perlata est, et ab ipso ad cognitionem domini Pictauensis ^c ad decidendam cum quibusdam aliis iudicibus delegata. Cumque ipse ad decisionem cause cum his, quos dominus papa collegas adiunxerat, studiosius, prout oportebat, intenderet, quia de longinquo cause instructionem queri oportebat, nec facile usque ad ipsius presentiam poterat peruenire, iniunxit nobis uice sua parcum allegationem audire, et testium depositiones recipere, ipsasque consignatas, sicut moris est, ei remittere, ut ita secundum ordinem iuditiarium posset ad sententiam peruenire

The monks
object to the
king's nominee

Rejoices that
Richard is to
hear the case

Ego uero super causa sollicitus sum, quia monasterium in episcopatu nostro est, et ad pacem domus illius libentissime uellem intendere, quoniam dominus rex aduersus fratres loci illius plurimum motus est, nam designationi uoluntatis eius non uolunt tanquam ceteri consentire. Quia igitur causam ex parte ad experientiam uestram gratia diuina perduxit, gaudemus in domino, de prudentia et religione uestra certissime confidentes, quoniam et iusticiam dei et libertatem ecclesie studebitis conseruare, et nos uobis preces affectuosas porrigimus, ut ad pacem monasterii et gratiam principis obseruandam diligentius intendatis, quoniam sine gratia eius res nisi cum magno non potest procedere detrimento.

114. To Simon, bishop of Meaux.^d

[c 1179]

F¹fo. 64^v

cxv. Ad N, Meldensem episcopum

Est apud uos Henricus quidam, qui, de terra et episcopatu meo

^a 1171-82

^b Herbert, abbot of Grestain (see above, p 80, n b), died in 1178 (Tongni, p 280), and William of Exeter, monk of Bec, succeeded in 1179 (*ibid* and note 6). This dispute probably explains the gap between the death and the accession which puzzled the editor of Tongni

^c John.

^d The N, i.e. *nomen*, was expanded by Giles to *Nicolaum* Haskins, *Norman institutions*, p 171, and Génestal, *Le privilège fori en France* (Bibl Ecole des Hautes Etudes, Sciences religieuses, 1921-4), II, 112, note 2, have commented on this letter

ortus, ab alieno episcopo inordinate ad ordines, quos habuit, promotus est. Postmodum autem, procedente tempore, multis flagitiis inuolutus, de falsa publice moneta conuictus est et confessus, quam per totam ciuitatem Baiocensem publice non timebat expendere, et incautos detestabili malitia defraudare. Captus est, et a regis apparitoribus retrusus in carcerem, et ferreis nimirum conpedibus alligatus. Tandem uero magno studio et labore per episcopum ciuitatis liberatus est, abiurata nimirum in perpetuum tota prouincia Normannorum, atque ad archiepiscopum perductus est, a quo, rupto corone circulo, reuolutis¹ a capite sacerdotalibus indumentis, exordinatus est, et de tota terra [in]continenter eiectus.

Henry, who is with the bishop, had been convicted of false coining

His punishment

Habet fratrem, Amfredum nomine, qui, nec minoribus nec parioribus² flagitis irretitus, quicquid a me uel ab aliis dominis suis optinebat amisso, cum diucius latitans non presumeret apparere, nouissime post xv annos a principe nostro litteras remissionis dictus est optinere, in quibus ei pax publica concessa est, et, ut a pristinis dominis suis pristinas hereditates suas reciperet, si eas posset modis quibushibet inpetrare.

His brother, Amphrey, equally criminal, has been pardoned by the king, and has been allowed to seek restitution of his estates

Susceptus igitur ab aliis, a me nouissime uix multis intercessoribus recipi potuit, ipsique hereditatem, quam ab ecclesia nostra antiquitus habuerat, reddidi, pacta nimirum ob restitutionem amisse in perpetuum hereditatis summa pecunie, quam ipse iurauit se certo tempore soluturum, et *Henricus*, frater eius, qui omni studio et tota fide procurabat eius negotium, fideiussit, et se, nisi ille solueret, prefixo tempore soluturum, iuramento corporaliter interueniente, firmavit. Transactum est omne tempus, neque quod ab eis promissum fuerat est impletum. Hec igitur omnia, dilecte nobis, caritati uestre scribenda censui et ueraciter indicanda, ut Henricum, qui uobiscum est, michi secundum iusticiam satisfacere compellatis, et uobis mores eius protestatione mea et litteris meis cercius innotescant.

But at Lisleux, he has not paid the fine of entry

As Henry stood surety, Amulf requests judgment

115. To Pope Alexander III.^a

[? c 1178-9.] F¹

fo 60

cuij. Ad eundem

Peruenit ad noticiam uestram Hamonem, presbiterum, habere publice concubinam, ipsumque eam in eadem domo et mensa et

Report on a concubinary priest, Hamon

¹ reuolutus, MS

² parioribus, MS

^a See above, p. xxxix

lecto xxx annis et eo amplius tenuisse, plurimamque ex ea sobolem procreasse; quod sane factum adeo manifestum et notorium semper extitit, ut nullo umquam uelamine seruaret absconditum, sed solempnibus filiarum g[a]udebat matrimonius ad maiorem euentiam illustrare.

Arnulf's disciplinary measures

Super quo cum maiestatis uestre litteras acceperissem, ut ipsum satisfacere monerem pariter et cessare, ipsum in capitulo coram omnibus fratribus sepius, adhibito etiam sancti oraculi uestri terrore, commonui; nec aliquatenus exauditus sum, quia ipsam nec una die uel nocte uoluit a lateris sui consortio dimouere. Misi sepius ad explorandum, si aliquando deo uel uobis reuerentiam exhiberet, sed mater et filie, duobus, quos aliquando misi, sacerdotibus spoliatis, manus nefarias atrociter intulerunt, sed, deo miserante, tandem per eos, qui superuenerant, liberati, gauisi sunt de manibus earum, quasi de luparum dentibus, euasisse.

Sacerdos autem facinus inueteratum presumit quasi quadam prescriptione defendere, nec ipsam a se uel ad momentum uoluit separare. Nos igitur, adhibitis uenerabilibus uiris, abbatibus scilicet quatuor, archidiaconis tribus, precentore et capiterio ecclesie nostre, et pluribus canonicis et monachis religiosis, recitatis in commune litteris uestris, obseruato in omnibus ordine iudiciario, sicut iniungebatur, curauimus effectui mancipare, et testimonia iudicum cum testium subscriptionibus ad uos nimirum duximus transmittenda, ne falsa scilicet suggestionem cuiusquam in aliquo denigrari possit, quod auctoritate uestra tantaque constat ratione subnixum. Bonum est enim penam unius ad multorum proficere disciplinam, ne reatu tam manifesto de honestate ecclesiastica sub conscientia uestra dicantur concubinarum triumphasse.

Requests punishment and privation of his churches.

Indicat ergo zelus uester silentium condempnato, ecclesiasque ipsius, quas in episcopatu Sagiensi tran[s]ferri fecit in filium sacerdotum sui, per alium episcopum quam per eum, a quo male collate sunt, faciatis personis idoneis assignari. Plures siquidem sunt, poteritque pluribus honestis personis proficere, quod male in unius constat cupiditate congestum.

116. To Pope Alexander III.

F¹.

fo. 62.

[c. 1177-9.]

cvij. Ad Alexandrum papam.

In episcopatu, cui deo permittente deseruio, quedam parrochialis ecclesia uacans incidit, quam ego ad presentationem cuiusdam

illustris uiri, Willelmi scilicet Marmion,^a ad quem dicebatur patronatus ecclesie pertinere, idonee persone, nullo penitus reclamante, donauit.

Concerning a church of which William Marmion was patron

Cumque is, cui dederam predictam ecclesiam, aliquamdiu pacifice possedisset, communi fatalitate decessit, et ego ad presentationem eiusdem Willelmi, sicut prius, alii persone, prout oportuit, assignaui. Cumque is, cui nouissimo donata fuerat, eam quatuor annis auctoritate ecclesiastica tenuisset, mota est ei, qui presentauerat, questio patronatus in iuditio seculari, cum semper ab antiquo cause huiusmodi ad episcopalem audientiam pertinerent. Euicit itaque calumpniator ille patronatum ecclesie in curia seculari, nichilque est episcopali iusticie reseruatum. Postea uero mouit aduersus clericum, qui a me susceptus fuerat, questionem, exigens eum ab ecclesia penitus amoueri, cum ipse eo tempore, quo ille patronatum habebat, oblati fuisset, et ad ordines etiam aliquos ordinatus. Petebat autem ille non nomine quidem suo, sed cuiusdam puellule quadriennis, cuius ille sperabat matrimonium in futurum, licet cum ea, quia non poterat, nec sponsalia nec matrimonium contraxisset.

fo 62^r

Apud nos autem patronorum inopinata mutatio non consueuit mutationem facere clericorum, sed is, qui pro tempore repertus fuerat, noui successoris tenetur agnoscere patronatum. Cumque nos ad sententiam procedere pararemus, appellauit iste ad audientiam uestram, diem natiuitatis domini appellationi prefigens, et nos, appellationi ad uos facte debitam reuerentiam conseruantes, cetera uestre reseruauimus maiestati.

Change of patrons does not cause change of incumbents.

117. To Peter, abbot of Clairvaux.

[End of 1179] Fⁱ.

cxvi. Ad abbatem Clare Vallensem

fo 64^r

Ricardus de Blosseuilla, abbas quondam Mortui Maris,^b de

^a He is not in the main descent of the Marmion family. There was a William Marmion at this time, the brother of Geoffrey Marmion who was an unspecified relative of Robert Marmion, the head of the family, and the founder of the abbey of Barbery near Falaise (*The complete peerage*, ed. H. A. Doubleday, etc., viii, 509).

^b The fifth abbot of the Cistercian house of Mortemer (diocese of Rouen and near Les Andelys), who had been first abbot of the daughter house of Le Valasse, near Le Havre, which had been refounded in 1157 (Torigny, p. 196 n). He left Mortemer on 25 August 1179 after a rule of 5 years (Chronicle of Mortemer, in *H.F.*, xii, 783).

On behalf of
Richard de
Blosseville, who
has been de-
posed from
Mortemer

fo 65

episcopatu nostro extitit oriundus, et ab inferioribus ordinibus usque ad gradum sacerdotii per nostre manus inpositionem promotus est, et ad certum beneficii titulum institutus. Qui, cum in laicali habitu apud nos laudabiliter militasset, artioris vite iugo suppositus, in habitu uestro morum prerogatiua meruit commendari. Et tandem, ob insignis vite merita, in abbatis locum promotus, in ordine uestro quasi lucerna resplenduit, et subditis profuit bone conuersationis exemplo, et in amorem totius ordinis uestri corda principum inclinauit.

His fall from
grace

Sed insidiator diabolus, qui iustorum consuevit actibus inuidere, et maculam in electis ponere machinatur, in illum quorundam malignorum linguas exacuit, qui falsis adinventionibus eius opinionem apud bonos et graues uulnerarunt, ea solum intentione eum mouere nitentes, ut, amoto ipso, liberius ab ordinis tramite deuiarent. Inde est quod in eius amotione sanctitatem uestram credimus circumuentam, nec ad plenum, sicut credimus, rei ueritas uobis innotuit, cum etiam abbas Uscanensis^a contra eum dicatur latentis inuidie facibus agitari, et detractoribus eius aurem facilius quam deceret inclinasse. Illud etiam est quod miramur, quod illum, post amotionem suam, prefato abbati custodiendum remisistis, qui eum minus bene tractare dicitur et arciores ei custodiam, quam oporteat, adhibere.

Plea for
leniency

Supplicamus itaque sanctitati uestre, ut ei locum alium prouideatis, ubi tractetur honestius, et placatori animo domino ualeat deseruire. Sciatis enim principi nostro plurimum conplacere, eumque in magnis uobis esse obnoxium, si ei, quem tam diu brachis sincere caritatis amplexus est, statum utilem prouideritis et honestum.^b

118. To Pope Alexander III.^c

F¹.

fo. 56.

His aims as
bishop

[? 1178.]

xcviij Ad papam Alexandrum.

Dudum me diuina dignatio ad episcopale prouexit officium, et

^a For *Ursucampus*, Ourscamp (dioc Noyon, arr Compiègne), the Cistercian abbey to which Mortemer had been affiliated since 1137, and between which houses there was considerable exchange of officers (*ibid.*) The abbot was Guy, 1170-95.

^b Henry had employed Richard as a messenger in 1171 (Benedict, 1, 21).

^c See above, pp liv, *seqq.*

supra merita mea, immo contra, gratia sublimauit. Et ego primo quidem facilius adqueui, quia nec laborem operis illius, nec periculum expertus fueram, sed, sanctitatem ordinis et potentiam dignitatis attendens, ex altero michi sanctimoniam sperabam provenire, ex altero magnificentiam comparari. Optabam sane eas in unum concurrere, et ad eundem cooperari consummate uirtutis effectum, ut scilicet nec sanctitas magnificentiam tolleret, nec magnificentia sanctitatem, sed utraque de alterius inuicem contraheret gloria dignitatem. Porro expertus, dolui in contrarium michi cessisse quod credidi, dum carnis infirmitas studia rationis inpu-
gnat, et concepte resistit multiplex occupatio uoluntati.

Ps xcvi, 6
Cf PP 56, 63 and
112
Their frustration

Dum igitur quero remedium, et ad consequendam salutem deuotus anhelu, intellexi nichil ad hoc efficacius fore, nichil certius quam secundum doctrinam Christi exemplum humilitatis eius et patientie pariter et paupertatis amplecti, reprobatis scilicet omnibus que uiam ueritatis poterant impedire, adeundum michi esse aliquod religiosorum fratrum ¹ collegium, domumque religiose institutionis intransdam, ut, exclusis que uanitatem seculi uidebantur offerre, sola intrinsecus uagos effectus regularis continentia coherceret, et, allisis ad petram paruulis, sinceritatis semper studia conualescant.

His plan of
entering a
monastery

Commendation in
religions
attende ²

Porro episcopali mancipatus officio, ad quod me dominus et pater meus gloriose recordationis Innocentius papa speciali caritate prouexit, non potui uel debui mea auctoritate discedere, nisi prius essem a Romano pontifice, cuius me dextera colligauerat, absolutus. Supplicauit itaque primum sancte memorie Eugenio pape, supplicauit nichilominus Adriano sub conscientia siquidem uestra, cum cancellarius essetis, sed fauorem uestrum in ea parte minus promptum auxiliumque minus efficacis inueni. Negatum michi est ab utroque, quia adhuc robuste etatis et ualidi corporis estimabar, necdum defectum quemlibet de corporis defectu scientia uel memoria contrahebat. Obedire itaque de necessitate compulsus sum, et pusillanimitatem meam iteratis exercere laboribus, dum me zelus libertatis ecclesiastice comedit, quam exinde cotidie maioribus semper affici conspicio detrimentis, non potui silere, sed non nisi modicum solitaria submurmuratione profeci, quia nemo mecum et omnium aduersum me suffragia reclamabant. Tota igitur in me et ecclesiam meam uersa est indignatio presidentis, cuius michi motum nec patientia mitigare potuit, nec supplicatio delinire

Ps cxviii, 9

Cf pp 190, 198
and 209

The papacy has
not allowed him
to resign
fo 56^v

¹ add esse, MS.

² marginal note in hand of the corrector

He asks again

Duravi tamen, quamdiu uel modicum in aliquo solamen accepi, et reparanda quocunque casu libertas ecclesiastica uidebatur Super quo quicquid a diuina sit bonitate prouisum, ego michi et ecclesie dei animo et corpore fere totus inutilis factus sum, quia paulo minus animo defeci quam corpore, quoniam animi uires et corporis senectus obtundit, et cogitatibus fidem memoria non conseruat Augustie itaque michi sunt undique, quia corporali inpotencie uis cotidiane persecutionis incumbit, et inter uarios conceptus ratio torporem desidia patitur et stuporem. Trahebat me quandoque deuocio; sed me nunc inexpugnabilis uolentia necessitatis impellit, sicut quorumlibet ceptorum operum imperfectio, et tam lingue tarditas quam sermonum confusio protestatur.

119. To Richard of Ilchester, bishop of Winchester.^a

F¹.

[Summer 1178]

fo 56^v.

xcix. Ad Ricardum, Wintoniensem episcopum

He is writing again to the king.

Diu est quod ad dominum regem nec litteras misi nec nuntium, licet me importunitates plurime perurgerent. Timebam indignationem eius nomine meo exasperari potius quam placari, et quod ipsum ad nocendum potius quam ad subueniendum supplicatio prouocaret

The machinations of the royal officers, William fitz Ralph and Walter de Coutances.
Cf pp 189, 191, 192, 204 and 209.

Nunc autem nequeo differe diutius, quoniam ministri eius manifeste predicant mandatum sibi ab eo, ut me et ecclesiam meam omnibus modis infestent, si gratiam ipsius uel retinere uolunt, uel desiderant optinere. Nituntur igitur acrius, et inuicem certant se in omni maleficio preuenire. Willelmus, filius Radulfi,^b princeps omnium et magister, Walteri scilicet de Constantiis^c precibus

^a For Richard, see p 93, note a, and for the letter, which probably covered nos 120 and 121, see above, pp liv, seqq

^b The son of a small Derbyshire landowner (Stenton, quoting Rev S P H Statham's article in *The Derbyshire Arch Soc Journal*, 1926, pp 57-9), William is found in the household of William Longsword, brother of King Henry II, a charter of whom he attests between 1156 and 1163 (*Facsimiles of early charters from Northamptonshire collections*, ed F M Stenton (Northants Record Soc, vol iv, 1930), pp 24-6). He later passed to Henry's court, and after an apprenticeship as an English justiciar he succeeded Richard, bishop of Winchester, as seneschal of Normandy in 1178. He had a considerable influence on Norman law (Haskins, *Norman institutions*, pp 192, 183-4, and Powicke, *The loss of Normandy*, p 70, etc)

^c See above, p 164, note d

inductus, per quem se putat regis gratiam firmitus optinere, affirmans ei plurima, que ego numquam credo de regis conscientia processisse. Ad episcopatum siquidem meum adeo iam impudenter anhelat, ut iam nulla fere sit dissimulatio promissorum, sed, relicto ad hoc Huberto, quem utinam noueritis, plures canonicorum conciliauit sibi, et etiam iuramentis astrinxit, ut, me decedente, de ipso eligendo regie consentiant uoluntati. Ideoque Willemum filium¹ Radulfi incessanter instigat, ut frequentibus me uexet iniuriis, quibus tedio affectum | cedere me compellat. In quo ad tantam uehementiam uir ille processit, ut me de ciuitate mea eiceret, et omnibus redditibus spoliaret, prohibito etiam michi egressu de terra, ut scilicet nichil michi in terra relinqueret, nec esurientem etiam aliunde querere sustineret. Super quo etiam generali precepit edicto, ne a clericis meis michi aliquid conferretur, et, si quis quicquam optulisse repertus est, bona eius omnia confiscata sunt et ablata.

Durum michi est quod adeo me per Walterum regia potestas infestat, sed durius est quod ecclesiam a ceptis iuramentis diuisit in partes, et partem plurimam a mea obedientia separauit. Quod si forte in aliquem uoluero aliquid episcopalis exercere iustitie, Willemus Radulfi filius non permittit, sed omnem ecclesiasticam potestatem uolenter usurpat. ecclesias, oblationes, altaria, decimas et prebendas, et quaslibet elemosinas, remota prorsus auctoritate mea, sue uendicat potestati. Ad hec tanta iam Walteri impudentia est et ceca ambitio, ut me etiam per Baiocensem episcopum et per cancellarium et Willemum filium Radulfi et archiepiscopum^a commoneri fecerit, et ipse mecum inde tractauerit, ut pecuniam ab eo reciperem, quam rex michi promiserat ad soluendum, si tamen canonicos de electione eius facerem coniurare. Respondi ego manifeste symoniacum esse, neque me aliquid suscepturum ab eo, sed a rege, sub eadem quidem forma, que michi et ipsi a domino Petro legato^b fuerat instituta.

Dulce michi et iocundum est conscientie uestre communicare² que patior, et quoddam michi remedium est, quod uos compati michi et condolare non dubito. Mitto litteras regi omni humilitate plenissimas, quarum rescriptum uobis nimirum censui transmitten-

¹ Willemus filius, MS

² communicari, MS

^a Henry of Bayeux, Ralph de Warneville, the chancellor, and Rotrou of Rouen. For this embassy, cf pp 187 and 191.

^b For Peter, see note to ep no 82.

Cf p 193.

fo 57

Division in his church

Walter's ambition and efforts to succeed him at Lisieux
Cf pp. 191, 193 and 209

Cf pp 186-7, 189, 191 and 193

He begs Richard, his only friend, to intercede with the king, and show epp nos. 120 and 121

dum, ut, si occasio uobis forte refulserit, sciatis qualiter et loquendum uobis sit et agendum. Solus enim estis de cuius fide et caritate confido. Nullam siquidem habeo de rege fiduciam, sed de terra abire non debeo, nisi eum prius requisiero, et de seueritate ipsius potius quam de superbia mea demigratio mea procedere uideatur. Quicquid tamen futurum sit, uestrum michi familiaribus litteris mandate consilium, quia ego hic nulla persuasionem consistam, nisi ipse suam ecclesie mee restituerit libertatem.

120. To King Henry II.^a

[Summer 1178]

F¹

fo. 57.

The king's dis-
pleasure and
Arnulf's
innocence.

c Ad Henricum regem

Quot et quanta beneficia, quantam honorificentiam, quantam familiaritatem et gratiam olim per multum tempus michi regalis excellentia uestra largita sit, ab animi mei memoria nulla potest occasione conuelli, sed pristinus amor, quo semper dilexi uos, et debita uobis dilectio perseuerat. Turbatus sum sepius, et multis iniurus et detrimentis affectus, sed nichil umquam eorum fuit, quod uel zelum minuere possit, uel fidei ueritatem.

fo 57^a.

Nunc autem gloria mea est testimonium conscientie mee, quia quam diu me ad consilia et negotia sua bonitas regalis admisit, semper in omnibus intermerata fidei mee refulsit integritas, et sedulitatem meam rerum efficientia commendauit. Exultabam igitur, quia ad uotum michi domini mei gratia respondebat, | meque felicem et omni donatum beatitudine reputabam, si quid studio meo uideretur accidere, quod utilitati eius accederet uel honori. Cum autem ualde sint amara que pacior, nichil michi constat amarius, quam quod uoluntatem domini mei aduersum me grauiter exterior immutatam, quoniam, ipsius michi perseuerante gratia, quasilibet iniurias et detrimenta fortune minima reputarem. Gauderem siquidem, et in contemplatione eius et gratie memoria respirarem, omnemque michi amaritudinem hec michi super excedenti dulcedine gaudia recondensarent. Sperabam quod usque ad exitum meum hec ipsius michi gratia permaneret, ut tandem perpetuo sompno in dulcedine ista uiderer, tamquam in ipsius brachiis, obdormisse. Res autem nunc in contrarium non merito certe meo,

^a For the letter, which was covered by the previous, and itself covered the following letter, see above, pp liv, seqq.

sed inuida delatorum suggestione, conuersa est; et pro antiqua domini mei dilectione odium, pro liberali beneficentia grauamen experior, nullumque michi uel in necessitate consilium, uel in oppressione leuamen occurrit. Profecto defecissem, nisi me perhennis innocentie mee conscientia confoueret, et quod apud liberalitatem animi uestri aliqua adhuc credo meritorum meorum residere memoriam, quia quod tanto ipsi constat exhibitum, et a uobis tanta animi liberalitate susceptum est, leui fallatiarum uento deleri non potuit, quia de toto tempore, quo uobis astiti, nulla prorsus desidia mee uel fraudis argumenta procedunt. Credo itaque quod intra secretum pectoris uestri quidam adhuc uiuat igniculus, qui aduersus fraudes adulantium suo tempore conualebit, et antiquus ille fidelis uester, *Lexouiensis* episcopus, ad omnem oportunitatem uestram semper promptus et eff[ic]ax, inter ceteros cum gaudio poterit apparere.

Interim quia malorum, que michi et ecclesie, cui deseruio, frequentius irrogantur, nullus modus est, nec tolerabili possunt patientia sustineri, ad pedes misericordie uestre confugio, si etiam merita mea uidentur obsistere, saltem ecclesie miseramini, quia tempus miserendi eius, quia uenit tempus, prius quam ad irreuocabilem perniciem libertas eius et possessiones eius atque iura descendant. Ad summam senectutem meam uobis offero, cuius meliores annos uestra diutius obsequia consumpserunt, et eam ex hoc nunc indignissimum est a uestre maiestatis excellentia conculcari. *Contra* Asks for mercy for his church. *folium* siquidem, *quod uento rapitur*, ostenditis *potenciam uestram*, et *stipulam siccam* conteritis, nisi dexteram opprimentem uobis alleuare ¹ placuerit, et libertatem eius misericorditer alleuare. Joh xiii, 25.

Nichil autem michi molestius est quam, etsi non meruerim, ecclesiam tamen occasione mea intueor aggrauari. Vnde nullum desiderium, nulla michi uoluntas est prelationem hanc diutius optinere in hac presertim debilitate mea et incommodo indignationis uestre, sub qua nec episcopus aliquis proficere posset, nec ecclesia prosperari. Sed si uestre placuerit maiestati eam ad pristinam reducere libertatem, suaque ipsi iura in perpetuum firmare, paratus sum cedere, dum michi intuitu pietatis modica ad sustentationem portio reseruetur. Si uero ad hoc uestra non poterit sublimitas inclinari, sustinebo usque ad exitum uite mee quicquid diuina michi dictauerit prouidentia sustinendum. Nec enim sine periculo salutis mee possem dimittere destitutam, sed secundum uires meas It pains him to see the church suffer through him

¹ alleuare, MS

cum gratia dei uirilius expectabo in omni siquidem humilitate et patientia, donec uestra ad cor sapientia reuertatur. Sane nulla a me, etiam si possem, contra reuerentiam uestram rixa prorumpet, sed excedentem potentiam uestram humilitas expugnabit, quia sicut uiribus repelli non potest, ita per se ipsam benignitate propria conquiescit. Verum nichil expostulo, quod omnium Christianorum regna non habeant, et quod antecessores mei tempore uestrorum et ego uestro et patris uestri xxx. annis et eo amplius inconcusse possedi.

Valeat dominus meus, regnumque ipsius presens perpetui regni successione confirmet. Querimonias meas sigillatim censui uobis et breuiter annotandas, ne tedium forte prolixior oratio generaret.

See ep no 121

121. To King Henry II.^a

*E*¹.

[Summer 1178.]

fo 54

Reminds him of his promise to pay Arnulf's debts,

xciiij. Ad Henricum, regem Anglie seniore

Auxilium liberale michi de regali munificentia promisistis ad recedendum scilicet de statu isto, in quo duu sine periculo salutis esse non possum, et ad securiorem uitam, propiciante domino, demigrandum. De uultu itaque uestro iudicium meum producit, et causam meam necessitas et inopia perorauit, dum in me et defectum | prouecte senectutis attenditis, et eri alieno copiam non suppetere facultatis. Excessit omne meritum meum uestra dignatio, et inopportunitate mea commode gratie uestre plenitudo respondit.

fo 54^r

and of the intercession of Cardinal Peter. Cf pp. 183, 187, 189, 191 and 193

Super quo reminiscatur utinam dominus meus dominum Petrum legatum,^b uirum magne honestatis et prudentie, non solum suggessisse uobis factum hoc et approbasse, sed multis etiam extulisse laudibus dignum regia maiestate beneficium, si in tanta oportunitate mea fidei et uere dilectori suo manum propiciam benigne largitatis impenderet, quem tociens in oportunitatibus suis promptum, fidelem et utilem multis sit argumentis expertus. Utinam dominus meus secundum doctrinam ewangelii credat operibus, neque blandis adulatorum fallatis seducatur, qui totum sibi deperire reputant, quod alienis uiderint utilitatibus impertitum. Omnem igitur uitam,

Cf. pp 14-67, 173 and 216

^a For this letter, probably covered by the two preceding ones, see above, pp lv, *seqq.*

^b For Peter, see note to ep no 82

qua ego uobis a iuuentute mea incessanter astiti, bonitas uestra media ueritate recenseat, ut debita meritis gratia rependatur. Nostis, domine, me hominem multorum dierum esse, multisque notum regionibus et personis acceptum, multis etiam maiestatis uestre magnificentiam conplacere, si uiderint uel audierint me a uobis cum lacrimis non amaritudinis sed deuotionis exisse. In procinctu sum, nec recessum meum aliqua retardat occasio, si tantum oportunitatibus meis uestro fuerit beneficio satisfactum. Miseremini itaque, miseremini mei, quia miserendi tempus aduenit, ut, omni temporalium rerum labore deposito, ad requiem contemplationis diuine transeam, ubi pro salute quidem mea et uestre maiestatis honore pariter et prouentu incessanter deuotio sedula preces offerat efficaces

Arnulf's fame
Cf p 173

And his wish
to retire.

Tractauerunt mecum dominus Rotomagensis et Baiocensis episcopi et alii quidam fideles uestri,^a quibus a uobis erat inunctum. Et ego cum omni alacritate eorum persuasionibus adqueui, adeo ut de discessu meo discretionem uestram non oporteat in aliquo dubitare, si tamen, secundum spem prestitam, optatum desiderio meo liberalitas uestra largiatur effectum. Facite itaque, sicut decet magnificentiam et ueritatem uestram, et inuincibilis instantia mee necessitatis exposcit, ut in totum ab episcopali separatus officio, importunam instantis concilii uocationem liberatus euadam.^b

His interview
with Henry's
legates.

He would like
to resign before
the meeting of
the Lateran
Council

122. To Peter of Pavia, cardinal-priest of St. Chrysogonus.^c

[Summer 1178] F¹

xcvi. Ad dominum Petrum cardinalem.

fo 55

Verbum, super quo domino regi Anglie uestra pro me gratia supplicauit, prorsus inane factum est, quoniam infelices aliquos aduersum me expectare preelegit euentus, quam mero beneficio quolibet adiuuare. Et quia beneficium non merui accipere quod speraui, de meo necesse est me facere quod oportet. Ideoque pro-

The king will
not fulfil his
promises.
Cf ep no 121 and
pp 183, 189, 191
and 193

^a For this legation and the persons, see pp 183 and 191

^b The Norman church was summoned to the Lateran Council of 1179 by the papal legate, Albert de Suma, in the summer of 1178 (Benedict, 1, 206; Torgni, p. 279)

^c For this letter, which covered the two following ones, see above, pp. liv, seqq. For Peter, see note to ep no 82. He returned to the papal curia about December 1178 (Delehaye, *Revue des quest hist*, xlix, 49)

Arnulf's plans
for retirement
Cf. pp 190 and
192

fo 55^v

Arnulf has
attempted, but
has failed

Ep no 123.
to reach the
Council

posui, cura episcopali uiris interim commissa fidelibus, extra prouinciam, ubi nulla quies, nulla leticia est, aliquo me conferre, ubi quies et animo prodesse possit et corpori, et ad solutionem parsimonia subuenire.^a Per quod in breui, ab inportuna liberatus instantia creditorum ad unicum statim Romani pontificis reuertar auxilium, ut me et a uexationibus presentis cruciatus | abso[l]uat, et ad gerendum morem deuotioni mee cum absolutione necessaria et benedictione dimittat.

Veni igitur in Franciam, ad concilium uenire disponens,^b si ulla unquam ratione potuissem, quod quia certius expertus sum michi impossibile esse, cum litteris excusationis mee nuncium mitto, quem rogo ut uestra gratia commendatum habeat, et in his, que uobis ex parte mea dixerit, per uestram gratiam liberaliter adiuuetur. Sciatis autem me plurimum de uestre familiaritatis et amicitie gratia gloriari, quam, etsi condigna operum exhibitione non merui, sincera tamen credideritis deuotione suppleri

123. To Pope Alexander III.^c

F¹

[Summer 1178.]

fo 54^v

Begs to be
excused from
attending the
3rd Lateran
Council (Easter
1179), because
of his age, his
preaching the
Crusade and his
misfortunes

xciiij Ad dominum papam Alexandrum.

Ad concilium cum aliis uocatus, cum aliis uenire non potui, quia inpotentem laboris illius cause plurime reddiderunt Prima est senectus qua septuagesimum annum tran[s]gressus sum, secunda Ierosolimitana expeditio, quam michi pontifex Romanus indixit, tertia ruine miserabiles, quibus semel et iterum de soli sublimitate lapsus sum et contractus, adeo ut a x^{cem} annis aliquibus remedus non potuerit uirtus pristina restaurari. Cumque miserabiliter causa posset una sufficere, tres simul pari inportunitate concurrunt, ut me quasi triplici funiculo uideatur impotentia religasse. Et ego quidem desiderio desiderabam | uenire, ut gloriam uictorie uestre cum aliis celebrarem, et ariditatem meam quasi de proximo benedictionis uestre rigaret ubertas Orabam tot et tantorum patrum uenerabilem uidere conuentum, ipsorum erudiri sermonibus,

fo 55.
Cf pp 4-32, 141
and 170

^a This plan of exile to save money in order to pay his debts had been considered by Arnulf in 1166 See above, p xlv

^b St Victor, Paris, for the 3rd Lateran Council See below, p. 192

^c For the letter, which was under cover of no 122, see above, p lvi

exemplis instrui, et ad reparandam libertatem ecclesie dei cooperari, si possem, quam in multis partibus doleo deperisse

Inpotenciam itaque meam dominus et pater meus habeat excusam, et a mandato me, quod implere non possum, clementi bonitate relaxet, quia, etsi presentia corporali non uenio, omni desiderio tamen et reuerentia deuotus assisto. Venissem autem libentissime, quia multas causas ad ueniendum michi necessitas offerebat, quas preterisse fortasse dampnosum est, et tot aut tantis occupationibus uestris ingerere tediosum, quia postmodum, deo uolente, per gratiam uestram spaciosius poterit et commodius expediri.

He will be there
in spirit

124. To Pope Alexander III.^a

[Summer 1178] F¹

xcvi] Ad Alexandrum papam.

fo 55ⁿ

Desideraui, domine mi, iam dudum a uobis episcopalis officii petere missionem, quia, deficiente ex multis causis animo et corpore, nec diligentie huic sufficio nec labori. Ideoque prelationem meam ex hoc nunc constat ecclesie non tantum esse inutilem sed dampnosam, nichilque restat, nisi instantem michi provide disponere sepulturam, ne forte negligentem mortis hora preueniat, et preuenio sera penitentia non succurrat.

He desires to
resign his bishopric

Quia uero, multis impeditus, libere demigrare non poteram, consilio et ammonitione domini Petri cardinalis, legati uestri, promisit michi dominus rex Anglie copiam regalis auxilii, quo ere alieno, quod me maxime detinet, liberari possem, et ad sustentationem meam, quocunque me uerterem, de bonis episcopalibus, que studio etiam meo copiose nouiter adquisita sunt, perpetuo beneficio communiri. Nunc uero reuocauit animum, manumque, que liberaliter credebatur extensa, continuit, et, ut partius dicam, permittit me a ministris et exactoribus suis miserabiliter infestari, adeo ut prouinciam totam exire compellar, quia nulla patiencia poteram ea, que indignissime patitur ecclesia, contueri.

The mediation
of Cardinal Peter
Cf pp 183, 186-7,
191 and 193
And the promises of the king,

which have not
been fulfilled
Cf ep. no 121,
and pp. 183, 187,
191 and 193

Preter[ea] alia etiam nouiter ad cumulum miserie et seruitutis adiecit, quod in ciuitate, que semper hactenus inter alias specialia libertate gauisa est, solique in omnibus respondebat episcopo, prefectum sibi sua auctoritate constituit, qui cotidie coram oculis

Royal oppression.
Cf. pp. 182, 191,
192, 204 and 209.

^a For the letter, covered by no 122, see above, p lvi

meis redditus sibi meos uolenter usurpat, et ciues indignissimis iniuriis afficit, et me potestatem habere, quam semper habui, non permittit. Minor hospite sum, qui semper dominus fueram ciuitatis, et in aliis quidem ciuitatibus existo liberior quam in mea, in qua sibi ius omne semper tam seculare quam ecclesiasticum beatus Petrus, in cuius honore fundata est ecclesia, uendicaunt.

Arnulf's election
free from lay
influence
Cf pp 181, 198
and 209
Ps cxxxv, 12.
Ezech xx, 33.

Meminerit autem sapientia uestra me libere ad episcopatum hunc absque omni uolentia et designatione potentie secularis electum; ideoque exclusum diutius, donec *in manu forti et brachio excelso* gloriose recordationis Innocentius papa sua speciali auctoritate, cum omni possessionum integritate et debita libertate, in sede me constituit et firmauit.^a Profecto plurimum uidebitur uestre glorie derogari, si tam illustre opus antecessoris uestri coram oculis uestris ducatur in irritum, et ecclesia, que inter alias multo priuilegio consueuerat exultare, primo ad seruitutem, dehinc ad inopiam mutilata descendat.

fo 56
Request for
permission to
retire,
the time to be
at his own
discretion,
because now his
goods will be
seized by the
king, and his
creditors, the
builders, will
have nothing

Rogo utique, et, genibus misericordie uestre cum humilitate et desiderio prouolutus, exposco, ut absolutionem michi ab onere inportabili uestra maiestas indulgeat, et a uexationibus, quibus miserabiliter crucior, liberet et educat. Diem autem exitus et dimissionis oportet interim mee dimittere uoluntati, ne michi malignitas insidiosa possit illudere, et simplicitati mee gaudeat, quia illusam uiderit, insultare.¹ Si enim modo quolibet episcopatum uacare contigerit, profecto ad omnia bona ecclesie confiscanda, secundum ueterem abusum, manus audas potentia secularis inmittet, neque creditoribus satisfiet in aliquo, qui ad impendendum constructioni et aliis ecclesie necessitatibus a multo tempore sine omni fenore prestiterunt,^b et ego apud deum uiolate fidei reus inueniar, et apud homines existimatione et infamia publica merito condemnatus.

He is planning
to flee.
Cf pp. 188 and
192
And wishes to
know whether
he must visit
the pope

Proposui itaque, cura ecclesie uris commissa prudentibus, extra prouinciam, in qua nulla leticia, nulla michi quies est, aliquo me conferre, ubi quies et animo prodesse possit et corpori, et ad solutionem parsimonia subuenire. Cumque ab inportuna creditorum fuero liberatus instantia, quo statim michi demigrare liceat, oportet me interim esse litteris uestre sanctitatis instructum, ne ad redeun-

¹ insalutare, MS

^a See above, pp xix-xx.

^b For the building, see above, p. xlvii, seqq

dum ad uos oporteat me plurimum temporis et laboris impendere, quia dies multos prouector michi etas et ualitudo contraria non promittunt

125. To Peter of Pavia, cardinal-priest of St. Chrysogonus.^a

[Autumn 1178] F¹

cix. Ad Petrum cardinalem.

fo 62^v

Quam sanctum, quam utile, quam totis uisceribus amplectandum consilium michi sapientia uestra contulerit, cum in partibus nostris legationis gereretis offitium, a uestra non reor excidisse memoria, nichilque fuit altius totius animi mei desiderio radicatum. Speraui cito posse perficere quod optabam, quia dominus rex consilio et ammonitione uestra ad soluendum es alienum, quo maxime detinebar, regali michi promisit munificentia subuenire, sed omnino manus a solutione continuit, concessoque publice episcopatu Waltero de Constancio,^b si decederem uel abirem, ipsi solutionem pecunie relaxauit. Ipse uero Walterus, per Radulfum, cancellarium regis,^c et per se ipsum, pecuniam presentem obtulit protinus numerandam, si tamen maiores personas et maiorem partem capituli de electione ipsius facerem conuenire. Respondi ego plane id symoniacum esse, neque me quicquam ab eo in causam huiusmodi suscepturum. Indignatus est ille, nec adhuc temeraria cessauit ambitio; sed factus, me amoto, de regis promissione securior, uexationibus expellere studet, quem non potest pactionibus amouere.

His previous help.
Cf pp 183, 186-7, 189 and 193.
The king's failure to keep his promises.
Cf ep. no. 121, and pp. 183, 187, 189 and 193.
The simoniacal ambition of Walter de Coutances
Cf pp 183, 193 and 209

Trahor itaque funiculo triplici, dum me regis ira conculcat, et ministri eius ex precepto constanter affligunt, et Walterus, aliquibus canonicorum sibi astrictis, tanquam dominum se gerit et in pluribus possessorem. Quod iam eo usque processit, ut maior procurator regis, Willelmus scilicet filius Radulfi,^d nuper me omnibus redditibus meis et ciuitate mea et ipsa etiam episcopali sede priuauerit, et per alienas domos cum pane alieno per x circiter dies conpulit oberrare.

Arnulf's persecution Cf pp. 182, 189, 192, 201 and 209

^a For the letter, which covered no. 126, see above, p lvi For Peter, see note to ep. no. 82.

^b See note *d* to ep. no 105

^c Ralph de Warneville, see p 27, note *a* For the negotiations, see above, pp 183 and 187

^d See p. 182, note *b*.

He has not yet resigned, but has gone to St Victor, Paris, to wait for a reply to this and to the next letter Cf pp 188 and 190

Nondum tamen ausus sum episcopatum prorsus dimittere, ut, ueniente lupo, dicerer aufugisse, sed interim ad ecclesiam Sancti Uictoris me censui transferendum, donec nuntios meos, quos ad dominum papam et ad uos destinaui,^a recipiam cum auxilio et consilio, quo me uestra uoluerit gratia conuenire. Siquidem, licet sanus sim, tantam tamen debilitatem michi senectus inportat, ut nec septem passibus progredi possim, uel equum ascendere, uel de equo descendere, nisi alienis manibus subleuatus

126. To Pope Alexander III.^b

F¹

[Autumn 1178.]

fo 58

cij. Ad eundem

Thanks for his resignation under conditions Cf p 190

Gratias uestre refero maiestati, quia ab episcopali me miseriacorditer onere subleuastis, sub ea quidem conditione quam peti, sed ego tamen adhuc demigrare non possum, ut, lupo ueniente, uidear aufugisse et ecclesiam quasi in suprema tribulatione relinquere constitutam. Siquidem ab antiquo, sicut audistis, aduersus eam uehemens principis nostri motus exarsit, nec adhuc uel afflictio cessat, uel indignatio conquiescit.

fo 58^v
The persecution of his church, (Cf. pp 182, 189, 191, 204 and 209) which renders his immediate cession impossible
The fate of his nephew.
Cf p. 194

| Augetur enim de diebus in dies, et maiora timende seueritatis commenta procedunt, adeo ut ministris suis, sicut ipsi manifeste protestantur, induxerit, quod me modis omnibus inquietent, et me et meos miserabilibus detrimentis affligant. Quod iam eo usque processit, ut maior procurator ipsius, Willelmus scilicet filius Radulfi,^c nuper me omnibus redditibus meis, ipsa etiam ciuitate et episcopali sede priuauerit, ea scilicet tantum occasione, quod militem quendam pauperem, quem ipse pro ecclesiastica causa uocabat in curiam, meque pro eo fideiussisse mentiebatur, exhibere non potui. Quem etiam, quia nepos meus erat, minabatur arctare compedibus et ergastulo claudere, si in manu eius sorte qualibet incidisset; inponens ei absque omni ueritate, quod diaconum quendam, qui de mensa mea et ipso episcopo ab exsecutoribus eius trahebatur¹ ad carcerem, de manibus trahentium eduxisset.

¹ trhaebatur, MS

^a Hugh de Nonant² Cf ep no 128

^b For this letter, which was covered by no 125, see above, p lvi⁷

^c See p 182, note b.

Quo facto, cum nichil michi reliquisset in terra, de terra tamen exire prohibuit, ut nichil intus michi relinqueret, nec extrinsecus querere toleraret. Interdixit etiam, idque per fora et nundinas regali publice proclamauit edicto, ut nichil michi a sacerdotibus meis uel clericis conferretur, et, si quis edicti reus inuentus est, bona eius immobilia subhastari fecit, et mobilia confiscari

Porro malum hoc accendit et multiplicat michi Walteri de Constantius ^a instantia, cui dominus rex episcopatum manifeste concessit, si uel morte uel tedio cedere me contingat. Profecto quia Walterus apud regem magnus est, paulo minus ipsius me ledit aduersatio quam regis, quia, rege maioribus occupato, Walterus de Constantius, cuius negotium geritur, incessanter insistit, nec defectum senectutis mee sustinet expectare, quam potius accelerat illato constanter tedio preuenire. Ad hoc autem de proximo fidelis exequendum, et uices eius gerendas, Hubertum, quendam canonicum siquidem meum, in ipsa ecclesia et ciuitate constituit, qui cotidie quoscunque canonicorum potest ei conciliat, et aliquos sacrilega factione iuramentis astrinxit, ut, me decedente uel cedente, de ipso eligendo regie consentiant uoluntati. Instanter igitur ille, sicut cepit, omnes obseruat uigilias et euentus, pluresque iam, predicto Willelmo cooperante, promissis, minis et precibus inclinauit, adeo ut difficiliter michi obediant, sed, elati in superbiam, iam manifeste uidentur de noui episcopi gratia gloriari. Certum igitur est eos quosdam inuicem federe conuenisse, ut Willelmus ¹ absentis Walteri negotium procuret in Normannia, et ille Willelmo gratiam regis in Anglia uersa uice conseruet ^b

Quia uero Walterus me pronum ad cedendum episcopatu sentit, es alienum michi, quo me maxime detineri credebatur, obtulit ad soluendum, si de electione eius studio meo canonici conuenirent. Sane dominus rex, interuentu domini Petri, legati uestri, ^c promiserat super eo michi regali munificentia subuenire; sed cum, manu contracta, quod promiserat non impleret, Walterus ad soluendum preparatus occurrit, et ego respondi ei manifeste | simoniacum esse, neque me quicquam ab eo in causam huiusmodi suscepturum

Prouideat igitur michi more suo uestra benignitas, qui a multis

The schism in his church, and the intrigues of Walter de Coutances. Cf. pp 183, 191 and 209

Cf p. 183

Cardinal Peter's settlement (cf pp. 183, 186-7, 189 and 191) is not carried out Cf ep no 121, and pp 183, 187, 189 and 191 fo 39.

¹ Willelmi, MS

^a For Walter, see note to ep no 105

^b Henry was in England from July 1178 to April 1180 (Eyton)

^c For Peter, see note to ep no. 82.

partibus incessanter infestor, nam ab episcopatu remotum plerique reputant pro regis promissione, quam, Waltero factam, nullus est qui ignoret. Super quo et aliis incommodis meis nuntios de necessitate ad maiestatem uestram censui destinandos,^a ut, auditis per eos omnibus, misericordia michi uestra sub[u]eniat, quoniam omnia scribere breuitas epistole non permittit.

127. To William, archbishop of Reims.^b

F¹.

[1178-9.]

fo. 65.

cxvij. Ad Willelmum, Remensem archiepiscopum.

Wilham and Theobald interceded with the king before when his nephew was exiled.

Motus est aduersum me, sicut nostis, a plurimo iam tempore dominus noster rex, et me tam per se quam per iusticiarios suos multipliciter non desinit infestare. Vnde unum de nepotibus meis de terra fecit duobus annis exulare, quem ad intercessionem uestram uestra et domini nostri comitis *Teobaldi*, fratris uestri,^c gratia reconciliauit, si tamen speratam inuenisset reconciliatio ueritatem. Pulsus itaque denuo, nouissime per uestrum et ipsius studium optinuit secunde reconciliationis accessum. Heret igitur, sicut potest, neque quicquam certe securitatis inuenit, sed inter exilium et carcerem euentum fortune tremebundus expectat.

He requests their aid again, for another nephew is in prison. Cf p 192.

Tenet et alium, simili michi sanguinis necessitate coniunctum, quem, sine mandato quidem ipsius, per plurimos iam menses maior minister eius^d carceris clausit ergastulo, sciens se in hoc ipsius gratiam promereri. Agnita uero iniquitate malorum, considerans rex eum sine omni causa fuisse afflictum, promisit quod ipsum omnino dimitteret, et fecisset, ut credo, si presentem haberet per quem posset dimissio consummari. Super quo experte michi in multis et maximis benignitati uestre et gratie supplico, ut, si oportuna uobis occasio forte refulsent,^e istum quoque facta pro eo

^a Hugh de Nonant? Cf ep no 128

^b For Wilham, see above, p 103, note *a*

^c Theobald V, count of Blois. Other brothers were Henry I, count of Champagne, and Stephen, count of Sancerre. For Arnulf's relations with this family, see above, p xiv.

^d William fitz Ralph, the seneschal (see p 182, note *b*) For another account of this affair see ep no 126.

^e Wilham visited England and the shrine of St Thomas at the end of July 1178 (Diceto, i, 426), but the letter is probably later.

ad regem supplicatio liberet et absoluat. Credo efficiendum facile, quia si ad innocentis liberationem iusticia sua non sufficit, quod deerit reuerentie uestre gratia consummabit

128. To Gilbert de Glanville, archdeacon of Lisieux.^a

[Spring 1179.] *F*¹.

cxij. Ad Gillebertum, *Lexouiensem* archidiaconum.

fo 64

Litteras domini regis et domini Wintoniensis ^b et uestras accepi, quibus nichil certi habeo quod ad presens ualeam respondere. Vos quidem liberalitate mea aliquamdiu usus estis, que sane uobis infructuosa non extitit, nec preces aliquas uobis oportuit aliquando porrigere, nec uiolentiam quamlibet attemptare. Feci uobis de mera liberalitate, quod feci, contra multorum inuidiam, neque gratiam meam aliqua dissuasio poterat impedire. Vtinam michi proueniat fructus inde quem merui, neque qui inuiderunt ab initio rideant et insultent! Vtinam uia pristina placuisset uobis incedere, quia, ubicumque partes suas potentia maior apponit, metu potestatis predicatur extortum!

Suspects in-gratitude.

Et ego quidem in Burgundia nuntios excusationis mee, quos ad concilium misi, Hugonem scilicet, nepotem meum ^c et alios, suspensus expecto, cumque uenerint, in *Normanniam* redire disposui, ubi uobis et aliis maiore consilio respondere potero, sicut honori et utilitati ecclesie mee apparuerit expedire.

Is waiting to be excused from attendance at the Lateran Council

Interim sciatis michi non esse liberum facere quod rogatis, quoniam hoc aliter constitutum est, et tam consensu capituli nostri et archiepiscopi, quam Romani pontificis auctoritate, anathemate simul interueniente, firmatum, rescriptumque apostolicum super hoc in synodo nostra generaliter recitatum est, et omnium sacerdotum publice conuementia roboratum. Venient uero tempora et rerum euentus multiplices, in quibus nobis poterit gratia diuina prestare consilium, quia, sicut michi uidetur, a nobis demigrare paratis, nisi mea fueritis diligentia reuocatus.

Against simony.

^a Later bishop of Rochester For the letter, see above, p. lvi

^b Richard of Ilchester. See the next letter

^c Hugh de Nonant, see above, p. xiii The letters he carried were probably nos. 125 and 126

129. To Richard of Ilchester, bishop of Winchester.^aF¹

[Spring 1179.]

fo 64

cxiiij. Ad Ricardum, Wintoniensem episcopum.

Gratefully
accepts his
gifts, but
wishes it had
been the palfrey
he had asked for

Misi michi per Gilebertum archidiaconum ^b munificentia uestra quod scitis, quod ego siquidem gratanter accepi, gratius tamen accepturus, si non tam oblatum uideretur ut subueniret inopie, quam ut iocunda muneris qualitate potius illustraret

Cf ep no 52

Et ego quidem munus alterius speciei de uestra caritate speraue-
ram, quod rei qualitate potius quam pondere conplaceret. Petieram
etenim palefridum, ut solito more uestro debilitati mee uestra indul-
gentia prouideret; sed uos ex priuata causa, sicut conicio, munus
absconditum mittere uoluistis, quamquam sua posset elegantia
declarari. Et ego quidem, quicquid illud fuerit, cum gratiarum
actione | retineo, et, quamuis magnum extiterit, ego tamen de affectu
et amplitudine animi uestri reputandum estimo liberalis benefici
quantitatem. Scio prosperitatem uestram multis sepe uexationibus
infestari, meisque passionibus compati uestre uos docent aliquando
passiones. Liberat autem quandoque *pauperem* dominus *a potente*,
et is, *cui non* conparet *adiutor*, diuino misericorditer adiutorio
releuatur

fo 64^v

Ps lxxi, 12

130. To Pope Alexander III.

F¹.

[? c. 1178-9.]

fo 55

xcv. Ad eundem.

Request for good
judges.

Quamdiu ecclesia, cui deo permittente desuio, me tenuerit
alligatum, oportet me aliquando eorum, qui michi commissi sunt,
oportunitatibus intendere et debita, quantum potero, diligentia
subuenire. Rogo itaque ut causas, si que de episcopatu nostro ad
uos peruenerint, personis iniungatis que zelum dei habeant et
peritiam iudicandi.

The rapacity
of monks and
the audacity
of clerks.

Infestat siquidem his diebus ecclesiam dei noua malignitas, que
de rapacitate monachorum et de clericorum procedit audacia, qui
dolose aut uolenter quod affectauerint occupantes, post appella-
tionem se expoliatos asserunt, ut trium subornatorum testium

^a For Richard, see p 93, note a

^b See the preceding letter

iuramentis quocunque pacto ualeant optinere. Siquidem is, ad quem appellatum est, eum quandoque, qui appellat, quodam fauore Cf. below, and conplectitur, et, ut suam ulciscatur iniuriam, causam quandoque P. 207 vulnerat innocentis

Super quo benignitatem uestram habere uolumus exoratum, ut in delegandis iudicibus discrecio uestra prouideat, ne huius, qui nobis inimicantur et inuident, nostra uel nostrorum iudicia committatis, quorum nomina lator presentium uobis plenius indicabit, qui, cum publice nobis nichil aliud quam reuerentiam offerant, ad iniuriam tamen nostram sunt obducto quolibet uel tenui uelamine promiores Ceteris autem in toto orbe terrarum committite, sicut placuerit uobis, absque discretione ordinis et etatis

Enemies should not be appointed as judges Cf p 200.

131. To Pope Alexander III.

[1178-9] F¹

cj Ad Alexandrum papam.

fo 58.

Est quiddam quod inter omnia me ledit indignius, archiepiscopi scilicet mei in omni necessitate defectus, quem fere sepultum constat animo magis sensuisse quam corpore, regisque exactoribus mancipatus omnino, sepe quod a me in episcopatu meo episcopaliter constitutum est, prorsus euacuat, nullamque michi permittit reuerentiam exhiberi, quia in omni malitia se reputat iuste qualibet archiepiscopi sententia liberari. Absoluit igitur tam clericos quam laicos, qui ecclesiastico sunt a nobis anathemate condemnati,^a suisque reddit altaribus, quibus canonice fuerant imperpetuum spoliati, ipsosque parochialem populi curam gerere, et in ipsa excommunicatione sacramenta conficere precipit, cum facti mei nullam prorsus cognouerit aut quesierit rationem. Quod sane eum facere certum est, ut sibi regis gratiam mea infestatione conquirat, quia ipsius in

Complains of the persecution of Rotrou of Warwick, archbishop of Rouen. Cf. the complaints in cpp nos 131 and 136.

Cf above, and p 207.

^a A letter of Pope Alexander III to Rotrou, dated 11 October at Tusculum (i.e., in the year 1171, 1172, 1178, or 1180), reveals that Rotrou had written to ask him whether he should absolve before their trial those excommunicated by his suffragan bishops who appealed to his Audience to be absolved. Alexander replied that he should do so, unless he wished to defer to the bishop, and so send them back for absolution, but that in either circumstance he himself must hear the case, 'quia nec excommunicati ante absolutionem suam in causa sunt audiendi, nec causa ad eos, quibus appellatum est, debet remitti.' Letter printed by Pommeraye, *S. Rotomagensis Eccl. Concilia*, pp 158 and 161, and calendared Jaffé-Loewenfeld, *Regesta*, no 13583.

omni sua peruersitate minister est, nec ecclesiasticam attendit in aliquo dignitatem.

Asks for help

Super quibus omnibus, cum uestre innotuerit maiestati, necesse erit a uestra gratia michi provideri, ne ipsius et suorum exponar¹ iniurus, quoniam ab antiquo me sola persequuntur inuidia, et nunc audatius confidentia regie potestatis occurrunt. Negocium hoc et alia quedam nuntius meis ad misericordiam uestram perferenda commisi, quos a uobis precor audiri clementius, et indilate remitti, quia quasi presentem ante oculos meos semper habeo sepulturam meam, quam instante iam conuersione proposita preuenissem, nisi me hec et alia, que uobis intimabuntur, obstacula reppulissent

Arnulf's proposed conversion

132. To Pope Alexander III.^a

F¹.

[c. 1178-9.]

fo. 59

ciiij. Ad eundem

Arnulf's free election
Cf pp 181, 190
and 209.

Ecclesiam, cui deo permittente deseruio, predecessor uester, gloriose memorie Innocentius papa, regendam michi sine omni laica designatione commisit, totumque secularis potentie dimouit obstaculum, et in uirtute dei de pace mea splendide triumphauit,^b omne etiam opus meum indefesso fauore sedulo prosecutus, necessario semper dilexit auxilio, et patrocinio communiuit.

The banishment
of the canons'
concubines

Cumque ego statim inter initia mea ecclesiam consueta disponerem emundare la[s]ciua, et ueteres canonicorum concubinatus auferre, manum necessarie seueritatis adhibuit; adeo ut una die de fiducia uirtutis eius xviii concubinatus a canonicis publice fecerim abiurari. Purgata igitur ecclesia, et congrua satisfactione his, qui deliquerant, emundatis, splendorem ecclesie mee tota prouincia predicabat, adeoque celebris disciplina profecit, ut multi circumquaque ad debitam continentiam nostro traherentur exemplo. Exultabam quod mea ceteris continentie formam ecclesia prebuisset, et eas quasi ad uomitum redire sancta confusio prohiberet. Illis igitur extantibus, quos quasi de Sathane faucibus apostolica maiestas eripuit, nulla collegium nostrum maculabat infamia uel incestus; sed sese studiis honestatis inuicem preuenire certabant.

¹ exponat, MS

^a See above, p lvi

^b See above, p xx

Ceterum cum, procedente tempore, novos institui, communis Their return
 fatalitas exegisset, neque noui iuramento ueterum tenerentur
 astricti, labente semper in deteriora seculo, cepit furtius excessibus
 aliquorum adolescentia lasciuiare, quosdam de prouectionibus ad
 similem secum pertrahere uoluptatem, de quibus uix permittebat
 sinistrum aliquid publica uerecundia suspicari. Crescente itaque
 numero, creuit audacia, et securos se esse uel modico uelamine
 confidebant, nec aliquid facile poterat fieri manifestum, nec ego
 poteram de sola suspitione ferre sententiam, et eos numerus preuari-
 cata multitudo defendebat. Non potuit tamen esse, quod a multis
 peccabatur, absconditum, quia fidem certissimam nouorum cre-
 pundia partuum faciebant, et tota recentes cunas uicina celebrabat.
 Noui itaque, et primum partes commonitoris adhibui, minas etiam
 et aliquid ultionis, sed malum facile conuelli non potuit, quod multo
 iam tempore fuerat radicatam

Cum igitur | ego seuerius aliquid facere decreuissem, ipsi, nocentis fo. 59^v
The canons con-
spire, led by his
nephew, Sil-
vester.
 conscientie et notori criminis timore conterriti, conspirare pre-
 sumperunt, et etiam conurare, consilio maxime thesaurarii
 ecclesie, nepotis mei, surdi scilicet illius, quem nostis, qui, cum
 multis a me beneficiis a pueritia sit preuentus, implacabili tamen
 odio me certis ex causis non desinit infestare, et duplex periculum Silvester
submitted,
 incurrere non formidat. Ex mandato siquidem uestro, coram
 domino Willelmo cardinale et Cenomannensi ¹ et Abrincensi epi-
 scopis corporaliter iurauit, quod eas, quas tunc proponebat aduersum
 me, ulterius calumpnias non moueret, ^a et postmodum, contracta
 de regis indignatione fiducia, deierauit ^b. Super quo, cum ego per
 archipresbiterum Astansem et archidiaconos nostros ad uos Bitu-
 ricas querimoniam detulissem, ^c celebrata cognitione, excommuni-
 catum a me eodem innodatum uinculo remisistis, precibus etiam
 benignitatis uestre adiectis, ut ei parcerem, et, accepta iterum
 securitate quam uellem, ea, que habuerat, ei beneficia conseruarem
 Feci itaque quod mandastis, et ipsum, perceptis iterum infaustis
 iuramentis, absolui, quia uos ei misericordiam hanc meo etiam
 intuitu contulistis. but conspired
again

Once more
forgiven.

¹ Cenomannis, *MS*

^a 1161 See above, p 54, for another account

^b Arnulf was out of favour in 1164 See above, p xxxii

^c Alexander was at Bourges from 1 August to 13 September 1163, and from 28 April to 17 May 1165

A third conspiracy
Cf pp 193, 201,
202, 204 and 208.

They have
avoided
sentence by
appeal

Their evasions
and crimes

Cf. pp 202 and
204

He is sure that
they will be con-
demned
fo. 60.

He can obtain
no justice in
Normandy.
Cf. p 197.

Iuravit iterum, atque aliquamdiu de necessitate quieuit; sed nouiter conperto quod in me uehementius regis ira recrudit, deieravit tertio, seque ipsius obsequiis omni studio mancipauit.^a Spe siquidem accepta, quod iniquitati eius per regis uolentiam non deesset effectus, accitis etiam sibi quos notoria¹ uite notabilis cogeabat infamia desperare, ipsis ergo in numero transgressionis undenario congregatis, alii triginta sed meliori numero restiterunt, ad omne opus canonicum prudenti consilio preparati. Illi uero, priusquam a me aliquid dictum fuisset aut factum, pari uesania conclamantes, opponere certabant appellationis obstaculum, solo tamen eius nomine confidentes, atque eo solo omnem michi in omnibus obedientiam subtrahebant, fas et nefas impudenti audacia permiscentes.

Cumque ego, super quibus capitulis uel articulis apellarent, instantissime quererem, quo fidelius apellationi, si esset, reuerentia seruaretur, extorquere non potui, neque michi uel dicere uel scribere uoluerunt. Timere se, ideoque aduersus omnia, que dici possunt uel fieri, prouocare; nec quidem omnes, sed confuse singuli singula proponebant, diuersi penitus et per omnia dissidentes. Sustinui ego patienter, nulla in aliquos lata sententia preter duos, aduersus quos litterarum uestRARUM auctoritate processimus, ideoque factum uestRUM uestra petimus excellentia confirmari. De reliquis autem, cum adulterus, incestibus et aliis criminibus publico omnium sint testimonio condemnati, detulimus, appellationem, licet nulla fuerit, pro sola nominis uestri reuerentia timidius obseruantes, quorum delicta, ut parcius loquar, cum a nuntius nostris sanctitati uestre fuerint plenius indicata, iudices delegati,² qui zelum | honestatis habeant et peritiam iudicandi, et necessariam habeant de uestra uirtute fiduciam, et locum opportunum, in quo cause dirimi possint et sententie promulgari, [? *condempnabunt*], quoniam uix credimus eos nisi fuga et seculari potentia defendendas^b

Ceterum quos ego deferre presumo, securum uobis est canonicè iudicare; sed de Normannia nullus nobis iudex bonus est, nec securitas in Normannia litigandi, quia quod illi aduersus nos fecerunt pro condemnationis effugio, se pro regis gratia fecisse clamabunt.

¹ notaria, MS

² altered to delegate by the corrector

^a Arnulf complained somewhat similarly c 1173. See above, p 146.

^b For the results of this conspiracy, see ep no 137.

Super quo, si aliquod aduersum nos, immo aduersum uos, scisma forte commouerunt, uestrum erit, sicut sapientia uestra nouit, ecclesie dei iniuriam uindicare.

133. To Pope Alexander III.^a[1179] F¹

cv. Ad eundem |

fo 60.

Est quiddam quod, diu licet absconditum, necesse habeo ex hoc nunc uestre misericordie reuelare, ut super eo possim apud benignitatem uestram remedium aliquod inuenire *Filios enutriti et exaltati*, ipsi autem non tantum spreuerunt, sed etiam oderunt me. Nepotes mei sunt, quos ego fere a cunabulis indulgentius educaui, erudiui studio magno, diutius ampliaui, et illustratos honoribus feci inter alios quasi speciali quadam gloria resplendere.^b

His nephews.
Isi 1, 2.

Ipsi uero nullam meritis meis gratiam referunt, nec utilitati uel honori meo curant in aliquo providere, hoc solo scilicet moti, quod quecumque uacabant in ecclesia, non conferebam nepotulis eorum, sed, accitis ab omni parte uiris litteratis et honestis, ecclesias meam tot personis uenerabilibus illustraui, ut nulla sit in prouincia tota, que possit earum meritis adequari. Inter quos, si quos forte contingat reprehensibiles inueniri, aliorum uirtutibus et prudentia redimuntur, nec aliorum improbatione meretur ecclesia blasphemari. Dicunt autem hoc a me ad contemptum sanguinis mei et depressionem eorum fieri, cum ipsi per me de natura debuissent affectuosius promoueri.

Their dis-
affection.

Inter quos, ut de ceteris sileam, unus est pernitiosior michi, cui ego primum duas prebendas c librarum in Lexouensi et Baiocensi ecclesiis contuli, archidiaconatum unum cc. librarum, ecclesias parochiales tres l librarum, decanatum l. uel lx. librarum in ecclesia Lexouensi,^c quia nichil michi satis poterat esse quod facerem, nisi

The preferments
of Hugh de
Nonant^a See above, pp lviii, seqq^b Silvester, treasurer of Lisieux, and Hugh de Nonant, later bishop of Lichfield. See above, p. xiii.^c Hugh de Nonant, cf the list in ep. no. 138. His Lisieux prebend is rather a mystery. Once he is stated to have been given the prebend *de Capella*, Chapelle Hareng, near Thiberville (below, p. 204), which in 1350 was taxed at £35 (Longnon, *Pouillés de la province de Rouen*), and elsewhere the prebend is located in the parish of Gacé (below, p. 211), and would be that of Croisilles,

eum facerem assidere michi similem uel maiorem Nactus ergo quod uoluit, cepit statim mecum de potestate contendere, et omnia reputare mania que dixissem, et contentiose omnia ad suam conuoluere uoluntatem. Sustinui diutius, ipsumque magis armabat cognationis audacia, et fere equalitas potestatis Assistebant et alii, neque michi aliqua fere concertatio fuit, nisi cum sanguine meo, donec nouissime aliqui aliorum, lasciue sue timore perterriti, in partem ipsius causa querendi subsidii concesserunt, sed ego nouissime cepi in alios auctoritate litterarum uestrarum et presidio conualere

The disaffection of the canons
Cf pp 193, 200, 201, 204 and 208

Cf pp 200 and 204

The insubordination of a wicked priest aided by Hugh de Nonant

Sane unum est ad quod uos indilate seueritatis uestre manum conuenit adhibere, quoniam in hoc et enorme delictum et multarum perniciēs uertitur animarum^a Est in decanatu parochialis ecclesia, cuius redditus decano et presbitero constat esse communes, cuius sacerdos super tribus criminibus maximis, concubinato scilicet, et incestu cum focaria fratris, et periurio in generali synodo, quia purgari non potuit, publice condemnatus est, et omni nimirum beneficio ecclesiastico spoliatus Cumque postea ecclesiam per uolentiam detinere presumeret, diuina etiam celebrare, presente et conueniente decano,^b iterum sententia anathematis innodatus est; quem postmodum in eadem ecclesia decanus instituit, et in parochiali altari, me semper prohibente, facit in maledictionem populo deseruire, et de manu eius redditus, quos ille de maledictione percepit, recipere non formidat Suspensum igitur a me, facit nichilominus spiritualia ministrare, quoniam ipsi defensionem in omni necessitate promittit. Scisma est, et qualibet heresi maior iniquitas, ubi et sacramenta profanari constat, et populum quintentarum animarum periculo perpetue maledictionis inuolui

fo. 6r.

The division of Hugh's benefices has been suspended by the death of one of the judges (Giles de la Perche).

Ad hoc inprobastis aliquando, quia ego decanatum et maiorem archidiaconatum uni decano profusa liberalitate contuleram, cum id ecclesiastice institutioni constet esse contrarium, atque Baio-carum^c [et] Ebroic^d episcopis iniunxistis in diuersas personas diuidere dignitates, ut nec etiam obsisteret rescriptum uestrum, quod super hoc aliquando constat uobis esse subreptum Verum

taxed at £20, and, with its church, at £40 in 1350 (*ibid*) As Nonant itself is in the deanery of Gacé, it seems likely that Arnulf had created a group of jurisdictions for Hugh round Gacé, and that he held the deanery and archdeacons of Gacé and the prebend of Croisilles, having lost Chapelle Hareng by this time.

^a Cf the account of this affair given in ep no 138

^b Hugh de Nonant

^c Henry, 1164-1205

^d Giles, 1170-9

decessit alter iudicum, neque duplex mandatum unius potuit delegatione conpleri. Necesse est igitur ut sanctitas uestra adimpleat quod incepit, aliisque iudicibus rei effitientiam delegare,¹ per quos ecclesie dignitatum suarum restituatur equalitas, nec altera alteram tali forte confusione consumat, et hominis ingrati et degeneris ambitio conpescatur

134. To Pope Alexander III.

[? c 1177-9] F¹

cvj. Ad eundem

fo 61

Delegavit venerabilibus fratribus meis, Baiocensi^a et Abrincensi^b Report on a controversy over prebends between Arnulf, Nicholas de Cust' and John d'Alençon, and touching Gilbert de Glanville and Hugh de Nonant.
episcopis, et thesaurario Lexouensi^c sublimitas uestra controuersiam, que inter me et Nicholaum de Cust', clericum, uertebatur, super prebenda quadam, quam idem Nicholaus in manu nostra resignauerat Gilberto archidiacono^d tribuendam, ea nimirum conditione, ut prima, quam uacare contingeret, Nicholao reconpensationis nomine solueretur, retenta tamen interim canonici^e dignitate, ut et stallum in choro et locum in capitulo et seruiendi in maiori altari dignitatem, cum ceteris tanquam canonicus optineret.

Porro, uacante postmodum prebenda, eam alii, Iohanni scilicet de Alenc',^e contuli sine Nicholai conscientia et consensu, estimans eum, quoniam familiaris meus et domesticus erat, equanimiter ferre quod facerem, et sine offensa de gratia mea beneficium aliud expectare. Cum autem hoc recognitum Nicholao minime placuisset, ad aures misericordie uestre aduersus me querimoniam detulit, et uos eandem prebendam ei restitui apostolica auctoritate mandastis, quod etiam sine omni apellatione et contradictione mancipari effectui precepistis, et ut eam facerem contra omnem uiolentiam a predicto Nicholao pacifice possideri. Quas litteras, cum Nicholaus aliquandiu propter uaria obstacula distulisset offerre, ad predictos iudices mandatum a uobis aliud emanauit, ut si omnia, que de restitutione

¹ delegate, MS, ² read delegarit² canonica, MS^a Henry ^b Richard III ^c Silvester, Arnulf's nephew^d de Glanville, bishop of Rochester 1185-1214^e John d'Alençon, archdeacon of Lisieux, royal vice-chancellor in 1190
See Round, *Calendar*, *passim*.

fo 61^v

Nicholai a uobis mandata fuerant, non implesem, ipsi predicto Nicholao prebendam de Capella,^a que in ecclesia uacare¹ dicebatur,² uestra freti auctoritate conferrent, ut et promissionis ueritas impleretur, et sua Nicholao restitutio non deesset. Prebenda autem minime uacabat, quia iam Hugoni de Nunau[n]t, Lexouensi archidiacono, uestris litteris a me fuerat | uestraque intercessione donata, neque mandatum uestrum, nisi collatione prioris prebende, poterat adimpleri.

Ego igitur mandati uestri continentia diligenter inspecta, et domin[us] Baiocensis, delegati a uobis iudicis,³ admonitione inductus, prebendam, que primo promissa fuerat, contuli Nicholao, sicut in mandato uestro, quod adhuc extat, manifeste continetur expressum, ne, hoc pretermisso, minus obbediens extitisse conuinceret, et minus uestre reuerentie detulisse. Porro, quia predicti Baiocensis college, propter uarias causas excusati, non uenerant, sed suas ei uices [per] litteras commiserunt, ipse factum nostrum uestra, qua fungebatur, auctoritate nichilominus prosecutus, capitulo scripsit, quod a uobis mandatum fuerat et a nobis effectum, ipsum Nicholaum in canonicum recipi precepit, et ei omnia ad prebendam pertinentia conferri. Significauit etiam eis quod mandatum hoc uestrum nulla apellatione, nulla poterat contradictione suspendi, sicut etiam eis ex rescripto uestro datum est intueri. In quo cum canonici minus obbedientes extiterint, uestrum erit decernere quod debetis. Iohannes tamen prebendam uiolenter detinere presumpsit, quesitoque presidio laice potestatis, sepedictum Nicholaum de bonis prebende sue per regios exactores non est ueritus amouere, apellatione quidem interposita, dum uespere cantarentur, extra ecclesiam, nec aduersario conparente, nec uestris quoque iudicibus, cum etiam a uobis omnis apellandi sententia tolleretur.

Super quo, ne minus impleti mandati uestri posset in me culpa refundi, scribendum uobis censui quid obsistat, ne hoc exemplo aduersus maiestatem uestram secularis potentie presidia conquirantur, sed quod a uobis tam iuste et sancte stat[ut]um est, in uirtute faciatis effectui mancipari. Ille⁴ uero pro uiolentia laice potest[at]is, quam ipse non timuit exercere aduersus sententiam, que de uestra auctoritate processerat, a me debito anathematis uinculo solempniter

External interference and disaffection of the canons. Cf pp 182, 189, 191-3, 200-1 and 208-9

The excommunication of a canon
² cf. pp. 200 and 202.

¹ uaca|care, MS⁴ Ego, MS.² uidebatur, first hand³ add et, MS^a Chapelle Hareng; see p. 201, note c

est astrictus, ipsoque innodatus uestro se conspectui presentare presumit. Cui etiam archiepiscopus noster auctoritatem suam negare non potuit, licet ille fauorem ipsius habeat, et ipse nobis fere in omnibus aduersetur.

The hostility of
the archbishop
Cf pp 197 and
207.

Vindicate igitur in aduersarium, et in temerarium et contemptorem et eius complices seuerior maiestatis apostolice disciplina procedat, ne ceteris faciat simili audacia contemptores. Nullam quippe auctoritati pontificali reuerentiam seruant, sed iniurias, quas irrogant, frustratorie appellationis uelamine palliantes, adiecta nichilominus potentia seculari, quam redimunt, omne robur ecclesiastice institutionis infirmant, et que rigorem uere uirtutis habere uidebantur, eneruant. Porro hoc in partibus nostris plurimum exerceri uestra sapientia non ignorat, sed sub mansuetudine et dissimulatione uestra cotidie conualescit iniquitas, nichilque est uel modicum quod ecclesia dei uendicare audeat, sed presumptione sacrilega per potentiam secularem omnia disponuntur. Vtinam dominus meus extremum digiti sui saltem michi porrigat ad momentum, ut in protectione libertatis ecclesiastice, quam semper zelauimus, paucos dies, qui michi supersunt, liceat consummare!

Plea for help.

fo 62

135. To Cardinal Theodwin.^a

[? 1177-9] F¹.

cx Ad Theodinum cardinalem.

fo 62^v

Quando in partibus nostris legationis administrastis officium, in magna me gratis familiaritate suscepistis et gratia, et in omni oportunitate mea liberali semper consilio et auxilio confouistis. Magnum siquidem est hoc, sed multo maius, cum nos ab inuicem multa locorum distantia dimouisset, perseuerauit affectio, et apud apostolicam sedem negotiorum nostrorum studuistis semper tanquam specialis procurator existere, ne umquam postulatio nostra desiderato frustraretur effectu. Vnde beneficentie uestre non debeo inmemor nec ingratus existere; sed, si aliquociens benigna refulget occasio, ad debitas gratiarum actiones omne studium uobis et omnem impendere facultatem. Facio interim quod possum, ad omne obsequium uestrum toto preparatus affectu, si quando michi desiderati operis diuina bonitas largiatur effectum.

Their acquaint-
ance.

fo. 63.

^a For Theodwin and his legation, see above, p. 137, note b.

Requests his
good services

Ad presens autem latores presentium, nuntios meos, uobis solita commendo fiducia, ut negotia que portant, uestro utiliter studio compleantur. Multa sunt que portant, sed omni subnixta ueritate, et omni acceptione dignissima, presertim apud sanctos censores morum et ecclesiastice iudices honestatis. Poteritis autem ex transcriptis litterarum, que portant domino pape, cuncta cognoscere, et quo affectu cuncta dicantur certissime iudicare.

136. To Pope Alexander III.

F¹

[P 1177-9.]

fo 63.

On behalf of a
vicar, Fulk, who
has been dis-
possessed by a
priest who had
been the lover
of the mother
of the lord of
the manor

cxii. Ad Alexandrum papam pro Fulcone.

Latorem presentium, Fulconem, plurimum sua uobis paupertas et innocentia commendabit, siquidem fortunam eius et causam uestre contigerit innotescere sanctitati.

Est in episcopatu, cui, deo permittente, deseruio, parrochialis quedam ecclesia, mediocres sane redditus habens, quos tamen omnes integre sacerdos, qui pro tempore ministrabat, nomine et iure presbiterii consueuerat optinere. Ego uero personatum ecclesie illius canonico nostro, Geruasio nomine, profusa liberalitate donauit, distributione tamen bonorum inter personam et uicarium, qui ecclesie deseruaret, meo nimirum arbitrio reseruata. Postmodum uero ad gerendam curam ecclesie uicarium michi Geruasius optulit, qui, aliquamdiu demoratus in ecclesia, matrem domini fundi, pueri quidem nobilis, duxit publice concubinam, susceptaque ex ea¹ sobole, inpudentem toti populo reuelauit excessum, exultans quod quasi eam de legitimo matrimonio sustulisset, ceterisque concubinariis sacerdotibus insultans, quia nobiliori plus ceteris contubernio fuerit illustratus. Cum autem puer ille, fundi scilicet dominus, excreuisset, et ad legitimam peruenisset etatem, cum nulla tamen ab eo sacerdoti questio moueretur, fuga clandestina discessit ab ecclesia, bonis ecclesie furtim que uoluit absportatis.

Porro cum aliquamdiu sine sacerdote stetisset ecclesia, et absque pastore populus aberraret, requisitus edicto publico anathematisque sententia, nusquam inuentus est, latuitque quo potuit, incestus, furti et sacrilegi criminibus inuolutus. Geruasius itaque uicarium querere, ipsumque michi offerre necessitate compulsus est, michi

¹ eo, MS.

latorem presentium diaconem in sacerdotem optulit ordinandum, ut uicaria scilicet ecclesie perpetuo fungeretur, assignata nimirum ei | beneficiorum congrua portione, arbitrio sane meo, quia ante fo 63^v consueuerat alius quod necesse erat cum nimia tribuere parcitate. Assignato itaque moderate quod oportere credidimus, Geruasius in manu mea, fide corporaliter interueniente, firmavit se illud absque omni diminutione pacifice seruaturum. Igitur ordinaui eum, ipsique curam populi commendauit, seditque per aliquot annos aut menses, ecclesiam cum pertinentiis suis debita sedulitate procurans. Verum cum filium concubine, puerum de quo dixi nobilem, casu decedere contigisset, ille securior audacter ad thorum pristinae spurcie et iniquitatis reuersus est, ecclesiamque, sicut prius optinuerat, nisus est optinere, Geruasio quidem manifeste prebente subsidium, quia hic ei maiorem singulis annis promittebat soluere pensionem.

Tractus itaque presentium lator in causam coram archidiaconis nostris, ego enim non aderam, ubi, cum iste Geruasius et concanonorum eius se sentiret instantia pregrauari, ad uestram audientiam appellauit, et a quadragesima postea usque ad festum apostolorum Petri et Pauli quiete in ecclesia ministrauit. Ipsa autem die pre- 29 June. dictus inuasor uiolenter irrupit in ecclesiam, arreptisque uestimentis sacerdotalibus indutus, totum parrochiale celebrauit officium, et altare sanctum usurpatione sacrilega prophanauit.

Super quo, cum ad nostram uocatus presentiam uenire contempneret, et diuina non desisteret officia celebrare, a nobis nimirum publice excommunicatus est, et a liminibus sancte ecclesie sequestratus. Non destitit tamen, ideo nec desistit, sed, suffragante Geruasio, quesito presidio laice potestatis, insistit, et plebem cuiusdam magne parrochie secum reatu merite maledictionis inuoluit. Dictum est autem aliquando, quia se id facere archiepiscopi auctoritate mentitur, cum ipse numquam presumpserit apparere, nec archiepiscopus michi uerbum inde aliquod fecerit, nec ad ipsum pertinet episcopatum nostrum irrumpere, uel sine cognitione cause nostros ligare uel absolvere sacerdotes.^a

The rector, Gervase, a canon, helps the invader, who falsely claims the archbishop's support Cf pp 197 and 205

Nota metropolitani potestatem circa suffraganeos¹

¹ Marginal note in hand of the corrector

^a Cf p 197 and note a

137. ? To Pope Alexander III.^a

[? 1180]

H¹, H².fo clviii^v

Last year certain
canons of Lisieux
bore untrue tales
to the pope
about Arnulf
fo clxx

Ad Lucium papam.¹

Quidam de canonicis nostris *Lexouensibus* anno preterito, de paucorum, non de uniuersitatis conscientia, ad maiestatem uestram litteras pertulerunt, libere aduersum me quecumque uoluerunt² mendacia conscribentes. Quia uero aduersum me de nulla in falsum poterant ueritate confidere, et me sancte Romane ecclesie ab ineunte adolescentia mea notum nouerant et acceptum, fameque mee integritatem multa apud eam gloria resplendere, ad mentiendum securius mirabili processere commento, ut multa uelut infinita confingerent, ut uelut auctoritatem faceret falsitas falsitati, nec ipsi mendaces possent de tot falsitatibus estimari, et falsitati testimonium fallax uideretur assertio perhibere³. Vix enim credi poterat quod quuis presumeret sinceritatem uestram tot et tantis obfuscare mendacis, nec aliquis erat qui meo posset nomine respondere, satisque erat eis si uel ad momentum opinionem meam possent in aliquo denigrare, uestramque ad ambiguum aliquatenus trahere sanctitatem

The pope listened
to them,
suspended
Arnulf,

Audistis eos, et, magis quam expediret michi, etiam exaudistis; quoniam absens et innocens, nulloque citatus edicto, punitus sum, et ex magna officii episcopalis mei parte suspensus, ipsosque, ad dicenda et facienda que uellent, remisistis amplius animatos, ut et alii quilibet inuitari possent et amplius animari. Miratus sum ego, et nichilominus qui audiere mirati sunt, qua ratione in filium, ipsumque specialem,⁴ tam immitis statim sententia processisset. Continui tamen manus meas, neque eas etiam usque ad protectionem (cap)itis mei tremebundus opposui, et ad dimissionem episcopatus, quam semper optaueram, uestra me indignatio confirmauit. Super quo uestre gratias refero sanctitati, quod me tam misericorditer ab importabili onere liberastis, et ad prouidendum anime mee liberiorum procedere permisistis.⁵

and then
allowed him
to return.

¹ add iii, H²⁴ spiritalem, H².² uoluerint, H².⁵ promissistis, H²³ prohibere, H²

^a See above, pp. lviii, seqq. The address, Pope Lucius, which is given in the two MSS. in which the letter occurs, is obviously a mistake, for Lucius III did not become pope until September 1181, and the king had nominated the successor to the bishopric before July 1181 (above, p. lxx). The lack of congratulations in the letter also is suspicious.

Aduersarii uero mei, litteris et iudicibus ad arbitrium impetratis, ^{he was} studuerunt meum multis artibus impedire processum, et me ex ^{arraigned} litteris uestris ad iudicium *Abrincensis* episcopi,^a et *Beccensis* ^{before hostile} et *Saunmacensis* abbatum^c continuo pertraxerunt, quos ex multis ^{judges} causis michi tota prouintia nouerat aduersari. A quibus super tot tantisque capitulis nulla potuit impetrari dilatio, neque deliberatio respondendi. Confessi sunt ab initio iudices, dum ageremus, nullam ^{who had no} se iuris habere periciam, nec exceptionum uel quarumlibet allega- ^{knowledge of} tionum compendia recepturos, sed huius tantum insistere, quod eis ^{law.} prima facie uelle littera uideretur. Accedebat ad grauamen meum ^{The king and} regis indignatio, et infatigabile studium *Walteri Constanciensis*,^d ^{Walter de Cou-} quem illi factionis sue, quam aduersum me iurauerant, promisso ^{tances also were} episcopatu, principem statuerunt, et ipse eis in omnibus auxilium ^{hostile} et fauorem regium seruabat, sigilloque regis, quod ipse seruabat, ^{Cf pp 183, 191} secure presumebat quicquid uellet aduersum me, etiam sine regis ^{and 209} conscientia, consignare, ut de ipsius uoluntate procedere crederetur. ^{Walter privately} Huius itaque dolis instructi, etiam iudices | (a ue)ritate iudicii terrori- ^{used the royal} bus abierunt, parati quidem ad omnia quecumque eis possent ab ^{seal.} aduersariis imperari.

Proposuerunt itaque me bona ecclesie dilapidasse profusius, cum ^{Arnulf was} me mille ducentas libras et eo amplius perpetuas adquisisse con- ^{accused of spolia-} staret, et thesauro etiam intulisse quingentas,^e et duodecim milia ^{tion of the church} librarum extantibus edificis impendisse, ipsamque ecclesiam episco- ^{His acquisitions} palem ex magna parte sumptibus meis et acquisitionibus innouatam.^f ^{and expenses} Ad communiam quoque canonicorum sexcentas¹ libras annuas et ^{His building ac-} perpetuas adquisiui, atque mensam episcopalem quingentis libris ^{tivities} et eo amplius annuis et perpetuis augmentaui. De ipso autem thesauro, ut nichil subtraham, decem et septem marcas in initio ^{The cost of} mee promotionis assumpsi, quia bona omnia episcopalia redimere ^{his entry} de manu comitis *Andegauensis* angebar, que ipse michi per duos annos et tres menses abstulerat, quia electus canonice sine ipsius ^{Cf pp 181, 190} designatione fueram consecratus.^g Quod ego quidem de permissione ^{and 193.} domini mei gloriose memorie pape Innocenti feci, cum ego prius de meo nungentas libras in eam causam et amplius expendissem

¹ sexcentos, *H*²

^a Richard III

^b Osbern

^c Simon

^d For Walter, see above, p 164, note *d*

^e Cf. Arnulf's claim to have augmented the revenue on p 189

^f See above, pp xlvii, seqq

^g See above, p xv

The Crusade

Hospitality

His plea, and
his condemna-
tionThe pope has
quashed the
judgment,
fo clx
and Arnulf
requests the
return of the
confiscated
articles

In expeditione quoque Iherosolimitana, ad quam me sanctus pater Evgenius papa destinavit inuitum,^a mandato ipsius calicem aureum triginta et iij^{or} unciarum expendi, cum ipse michi, si amplius oporteret, meam causam assumere concessisset. Pretereo, ne forte iactantia uideatur, quanta interim fuerit hospitalitatis effusio, quam etiam frequens donorum caritas illustrabat, adeo ut ab homine mediocritatis mee uix tanta posset largitas expectari, quod, ab his qui uiderunt et hiis qui experti sunt, publico passim testimonio confirmatur

Supplicavi iudicibus ut, eorum, que apposita sunt et detracta, quantitate perspecta, rationem compensationis admitterent, si tamen estimandum uideretur quod in tam pias et necessarias causas expensum fuerat, et postea plus quam septuagies septies restitutum. Non sum exauditus in aliquo, quia ora eorum et corda noui metus et antike simultatis obstinatio clauserat; neque iam latens odium sed prurupta¹ in omnibus audacia uidebatur. Condempnauerunt me itaque in centum libras donandas canonicis, quas in utilitates ecclesie et legitimos sumptus expenderant, michique de capella prorsus noua, quam² michi paraueram,^b casulam, dalmaticam, tunicam abstu(le)runt, sicque me priuatum pecunia et sacris spoliatum uestibus emiserunt

Quod sane, cum ad uestram audientiam peruenisset, sententiam eorum apostolica seueritate quassastis, et me, sicut ex litteris uestris intelligi potest, ab ipsorum uoluitis peruicacia liberari. Rogo itaque ut uestra in decreto suo sententia perseueret, [suumque littere uestre consequantur³ effectum, michique, quod ex iniusta causa sublatum est, restitui faciatis, ut ad fratres, ad quos concessi, peruenire possit quod eis ab initio fuerat destinatum. Insultant illi siquidem, suoque, quod ad pias causas deputatum fuerat, distribuunt arbitrato, et me, quasi nudum et inopem, exisse improba congratulatione letantur. Faciat itaque uestra misericordia quod cepistis, et, quod a uobis quasi decretum est, districta seueritate precipite consummari, ne de nostris gaudeat simplex uel imperita malicia detrimentis.

¹ prerumpta, H²² quam noua, H²³ consequentur, H²^a See above, pp xxv, seqq^b *Capella* may mean here a chapel at the abbey of St Victor, Paris, or, as it is more likely that there was distrant on Arnulf's baggage before it left Normandy, it may well be understood in the sense of a set of liturgical vestments and ornaments

138. To King Henry II.^a[1181] H¹; H², F¹.Ad Henricum, regem Anglorum seniores¹fo clvii^v

Est in ² episcopatu Lexouensi³ quedam parochialis ecclesia apud Gwasscey⁴,⁵ quam ego, in manu mea possessam diutius, canonicis regularibus Sancti Victoris, priusquam ad eos demigrassem, donavi, ut sumptibus meis aliqua ex parte proficere posset, cum ego ad ecclesiam illam⁶ pertransissem⁷. Res modica est, sed ego non habebam in quo amplius possem pauperibus fratribus subuenire

The church of Gacé which Arnulf had given to the canons of St Victor, Paris.

Verum in eadem parrochia quedam prebenda est Lexouensis ecclesie,⁸ quam ego Hugoni de Nonant,⁹ nepoti meo, donavi, sicut ei consueveram quicquid fere possem profusa liberalitate donare, | neque quicquam eiusmodi posset⁶ in regione illa ei gratius obuenire. Letatus est ille, et ego nichilominus exultavi, sperans de liberalitate mea, presertim apud nepotem meum, michi fructum in tempore provenire. Sed me quidem debuerant precedentium temporum satis⁷ experimenta docuisse, nisi me indulgentie gratia et tam proxime cognationis compassio seduxisset. Ego enim ex sorore natum paruulum indulgentius educaui,⁸ erudiri feci diligentius, redditibus ampliavi, michique ad conferendum ei omnis ultro copia respondebat. Donavi siquidem ei in episcopatu Lexouensi³ v ecclesias circiter centum librarum, prebendam in ecclesia Lexouensi³ nichilominus l. librarum, archidiaconatum⁹ centum librarum, et eo amplius,⁶ quantum proficere poterant tam rapine quam iniurie subiectorum, nec me a largitionibus huiusmodi frequens ipsius

His kindness and gifts to his ungrateful nephew, Hugh de Nonant,

fo clviii

¹ Ad Henricum ii regem Anglorum Reuerentissimo domino suo, Henrico, dei gratia illustri et glorioso Anglorum regi, frater Arnulfus, sancti Victoris Parisiensis canonicus, utinam regularis, pacem, gloriam et honorem, F¹

² in repeated, F¹.

³ Guascey, H², Gwaceum, F¹

⁴ ill ecc, F¹

⁵ Nunaunt, F¹

⁶ reg ill poss, F¹

⁷ om, F¹

⁸ om educaui diligentius, H²

⁹ archidiaconatus, H², altered, H¹

^a See above, p lviu

^b Gacé, near Argentan, of which there was also a deanery and archdeaconry.

^c De Formeville gives the following reference to Arnulf's charter Arch de L'Empire, carton L, 1494

^d Croisilles, see above, p 201, note c

^e Cf the list in ep no 133, p 201

ingratitude poterat cohibere, sed super caput eius carbones inutiles semper omni studio congerebam. Pretereo quod de iure archidiaconatus hominio michi et fideligia tenebatur obnoxius, quam ipse michi utinam fideliori memoria conseruasset. Expertus sum quia fidem in eo non creat affectio, sed cupiditas aut superioris reuerentia maiestatis¹. Vtini eo secure, quia maiestatem uestram fallere non audebit, sed ad omnem executionem beneplaciti uestri, se² prosequente³ metu, non deuotione uel fide, prompta semper operatione procedet. Speraui quod saltem nouissima mea propiciante uellet oculo contemplari, et super senectute et debilitate mea et paupertate spontanea moueretur, adeo ut etiam sua michi liberaliter in omni oportunitate exhiberet, meeque saltem⁴ de his, que ego contuleram ei,⁵ misericorditer in tempore uellet inopie subuenire. Sed ipse partem modici beneficii, quod ego pauperibus canonicis contuleram, immo quasi conseruaueram⁶ michi, absque omni iudicio uolenter usurpat, licet predicti fratres aliquibus annis et predecesores eorum ab antiquo pacifice possedissent. Requisiui eum instantius, ut iusticiam dei et pauperis ecclesie meamque consideraret inopiam, sed in nullo⁷ proficere potui, quin manus audaces semper presumeret extendere, et ius pauperum impudentius usurpare.

Est etiam in parrochia illa capellula quedam, nullos parrochianos, nullos prorsus redditus habens, ad ius nimirum parrochialis ecclesie pertinens ab antiquo,^a quam, omni fere seruiicio et edificio destitutam, sacerdos eiusdem parrochie solus, cum uellet, deuotionis intuitu uisitabat, nec diuina ibi honeste poterant officia celebrari, quam Fulco decanus,^b ad quem tunc parrochia pertinebat, iure parrochie⁸ reedificauit attentius, et in cimiteriolo ueteri, quod ibi adiacebat, domos suas construxit, usu sepulture sicut uoluit transformato. De qua siquidem capella Hugo de Nonant⁹ sacerdotem, arreptis¹⁰ clauibus et sacerdotalibus indumentis, amouit, cum sacerdos ad Romanam ecclesiam antea prouocasset, et in ipso facto nichilominus insisteret appellare, ibique postmodum continue fecit diuina sacerdotem suum¹¹ in anathemate celebrare, et parrochianos a manu

who retains what
Arnulf had given
to St Victor,

and who is
misbehaving in
respect of a
chapel

fo. clviii^v.

¹ potestatis, F¹.

⁵ ei cont., F¹.

⁸ parrochiali, F¹.

¹¹ suum diuina, F¹.

² om., F¹.

⁶ reseruaueram, F¹.

⁹ Nunaunt, F¹.

³ psequente, H².

⁷ ullo, H².

¹⁰ acceptis, F¹.

⁴ om., F¹.

^a For another account of this affair, see above, p. 202.

^b Occurs 1142 and 1147 (G C).

sacerdotis, quam semper agnouerant, uolenter ammouet et ammouit, scilicet ut, si ueniret ad causam, hac arte fungi possessoris commodo Cf p 116 uideretur. Ad uos itaque spectat tante enormitatis correptio, neque ego spero aliquod aliunde remedium, quia longinquum et sumptuosum est pauperibus ecclesie Romane subsidium, licet nos de ipsius non oporteat auxilio desperare. Apponite itaque regiam manum uestram,¹ et effrenatam hominis auariciam cohibete, et fratres illos ecclesiam illam cum capella² in antiqua integritate sua faciatis pacifice possidere, sicut antecessores eorum constituerit longo tempore possedissee, et ipsi duobus aut tribus annis nouissimis possederunt; fructusque perceptos nichilominus eum restituere faciatis.

Reminisatur, obsecro, dominus meus, quomodo in nouissimo Request for
discssu meo apud Gisortium letificauerit³ animam meam,^a et royal help
me de copia munificentie sue dimiserit affluentem; adiuncto Cf pp 214 and
siquidem uerbo regie promissionis, quod me in omni oportunitate²¹⁵
mea dei[n]ceps adiuuaret, sicut unquam liberius fecerat, et omnem
a me molestiam propulsaret. Nichil autem⁴ michi constat esse
molestius, quam quod is, qui stare mecum per omnia debuisset,
id, in quo fratres letificare speraueram, conuertit⁵ potius in merorem,
et quietem animi mei, quam quesisse, deposita omni secularitate,
speraueram, implacabili malignitate perturbat, et usque in sepul-
crum persequi indefessa cupiditate non cessat, neque se perturbare
iuris ordinem reueretur, cum hui qui possidebant non debuerint
absque iudicio spoliari.⁶ Primo itaque restituendi sunt cum fructi-
bus scilicet et expensis, et pena ei pro excessu arbitrio iudicis
infligenda. Reddat itaque me michi dominus meus, et speratam
requiem misericordie bonitate restituat, ut de huius, que ad deum
sunt, liceat michi sine molestia cogitare. Nichil autem⁶ est quod
magis regie conueniat maiestati quam audaciam⁷ reprimere super-
borum, et suam iustis ac simplicibus iusticiam uirtute regia
conseruare.

¹ add de qua magis confidimus, F¹ ² add et pertinentius, F¹
³ letificauit, F¹ ⁴ enim, F¹ ⁵ om conuertit speraueram, F¹
⁶ enim, F¹ ⁷ audacia, H²

^a See above, p lix, and note 4

^b The principle of Henry's possessory assizes.

139. To King Henry II.^a

[Late 1181]

F¹.fo 67^v

Arnulf is
innocent of the
charges made
against him

cxxij Ad Henricum ii regem Anglie

Henrico, dei gratia illustri et glorioso regi Anglie, domino suo karissimo, frater Arnulfus, Sancti Victoris Parisiensis canonicus, utinam regularis, prosperitatem, gloriam et salutem

Dum adhuc in Normannia apud uos commorarer, commouebat plerumque aduersum me ex falsis causis indignationem uestram malignitas iniquorum, suggerentium uobis aliquid me contra gloriam uestram cogitare uel uelle, sed falsitatem suam nullis unquam operibus certam facere potuerunt. Testis siquidem michi est deus, quem criminale est in testimonium falsitatis offerre, numquam me, quemcumque processisset occasio, in detrimentum honoris uestri aliquid effecisse, sed antike beneficentie uestre semper memoria preualebat. Licet autem ex ea causa multa michi incommoda processissent, nichil unquam michi molestius extitit, quam quod animum uestrum aduersum me commotum noueram, neque licebat michi de dilectionis uestre conscientia, sicut semper feceram, exultare. Quicquid autem dixerint, non potuerunt tamen aduersum me apud bonitatem uestram usque ad aliquod graue scandalum eorum mendatia conuallere. Seruastis me semper, et ab omnibus exhibuistis illesum, tabescentibus siquidem aduersariis meis, quod inuidia eorum aduersum me optato non gaudebat effectu. Viuebat in animo uestro indeficiens quidem regie bonitatis igniculus, qui sinceritatem perpetue fidei mee et pristini sedulitatem obsequi uobis ad memoriam reuocabat, nec sinebat usquequaque preualere malitiam; sed aduersus omnia mendatia eorum uuax precedentium meritorum meorum memoria refulgebat.

The reconcilia-
tion at Gisors
Cf. pp. 213 and
215.

fo. 68.

Si enim prorsus pristine caritatis exspirasset affectio, non tam facili resurgere potuisset affectu, sed in nouissimo discessu meo apud Gisorsium benignitas perfecte michi regie bonitatis arrisit; licet autem discessum meum prosequi regalis munificentie copia non tardaret, inter omnia tamen, immo super omnia, maius habui, quod deinceps | semper ueritatem michi perhennis gratie repromisit. Hoc enim est, in cuius frequenti commemoratione respiro, quod me iam non tam corporalibus sentio domini mei, quam sincere caritatis brachiis amplexari. Dulce siquidem michi erit, si moriens inter

^a For the letter, which may have covered the next, see above, p. lix

ulnas domini mei uidear obdormisse, si me ad presentiam superioris domini uestra morientem gratia prosequatur. Hoc est quod omnibus hodie negociis expeditus, misericordiam ipsius frequentibus suspiris implorare non cesso, quatinus post presentis regni gubernacula, que tenetis, eterni regni uobis gaudia largiatur, meque uobis tanquam uernaculum uestrum iubeat miseratus adiungi

His desire for a perfect reconciliation.

Viuat dominus meus, et omnem semper inuidiam gloriosus excedat! Scio meminisse uos, quia sermo bonus de mera sinceri cordis ueritate processit, quod me deinceps semper benignus audiretis, nec repulsam a uobis moderata precatio reportaret. Magnum hoc reputaui, sed maximum, nec me tamen inprobum liberalis promissio faciet exactorem, sed cum ylarī semper uerecundia supplicabo. Ne uero tedium prolixitas epistole generaret, que postulo nuncio uiua uoce uobis indicanda commisi. Pauca quidem et parua sunt, si ad domini mei excellentiam referantur, sed michi maximum erit, quicquid de propitia domini mei liberalitate proueniet.

Sentiments, and a request for the fulfilment of their agreement

140. To King Henry II.^a[Late 1181.] ^{F¹.}fo 66^o

cxx Ad eundem.

Precepistis Willelmo filio Radulfi ^b in discessu meo a uobis apud Gisortium, ut michi cc libras ¹ *Andegauensium* ² faceret numerare pro catallis meis, et ipse preceptum uestrum debita hylaritate suscepit; michi se facturum cum tanta asseueratione promisit, ut ego nullatenus crediderim dubitandum.

William fitz Ralph has not fulfilled the financial promises that the king made at Gisors
Cf pp 213 and 214.

Assignauit itaque michi diem ad mediam Augusti, et ego tunc ad eum misi cum omni fiducia, nec recepi. Assignauit michi alium diem ad festum scilicet sancti Michaelis, neque tunc quoque michi quicquam solutum est, neque dies ad soluendum ulterius assignata. Frustratus itaque tociens, nichil aliud credidi michi faciendum, nisi ad benignitatem uestram nuntium destinare, ut quod a uobis tam liberaliter concessum est, suo ueraciter consummari faciatis effectum. Preterea ducentas libras annuas michi magnificentia uestra con-

¹ lib^a, MS² Ancl', MS

^a For this letter, which may have been covered by no. 139, see above, p lxx

^b For William, see above, p 182, note b
L.A.L.

stituit, quamdiu uiuerem, in prepositura *Lexouensi*, assensu et sigillo nimirum uestro et canonicorum et archiepiscopi prosequente, quatuor quidem terminis singulis, scilicet tribus mensibus, persoluendas, ut scilicet in hac festiuitate sancti Michaelis michi quarta portio solueretur, reliquis portionibus suo tempore persoluendis; neque enim episcopatus dilatio, sicut scitis, in meum debet cedere detrimentum, sed oportet ut uos faciatis absque dilatione et diminutione persolui.

His nephew,
Hugh de Nonant,
says that they
will never be
fulfilled.

fo 67.

Precipiat igitur magnificentia uestra utrumque fieri, quia Hugo de Nunant plurimum terruisset me, si ego uerbis ipsius credendum esse putarem. Venit enim Parisius, et, cum ego uerba leticie expectarem, dixit michi coram abbate^a et fratribus promissiones uestras michi nullatenus adimplendas, michique necessarium esse aliunde parare subsidium.

141. To Richard of Ilchester, bishop of Winchester.

F¹.

[After 1181.]

fo 67.

cxxj. Ad Ricardum *Wintoniensem* episcopum.

Venerabili et dilecto domino et patri suo, Ricardo, dei gratia *Wintonensi* episcopo, frater Arnulfus, Sancti Victoris Parisiensis canonicus, vtinam regularis, prosperitatem, gloriam et salutem.

Their long
friendship.

A multo tempore sincere caritatis uobis me gratia copulauit, exortaque dilectio iocundis semper proficere non destitit incrementis. Cumque nos regalibus consiliis prospera consilia sepius admouere[n]t, multoque complexu gratia nos regalis astringeret, nulla umquam ultro citroque processit inuidia, sed uterque de alterius, tanquam de proprio, commodo letabatur. Laudabile erat hoc, et a multis etiam mirabile dicebatur, quia in familiaritate principum consortem non admittit inuidia; sed repulsam alterius alter suum semper putat esse prouentum, sibiue de illius remotione gratiam duplicari, et sibi accrescere quicquid alteri constiterit inminutum. Porro inter nos de alterutro commodo fides mutua letabatur, nec aliquid alterum ab exhibitione uerioris gratie poterat abstertere; sed libertatem suam semper in omnibus ueritas inconcussa seruabat, ipsamque sinceritatem suam manifestis argumentis approbare gaudebat.

Cf. pp. 14, 67, 173
and 186.

^a Warm, formerly abbot of Ste Geneviève-du-Mont

Vidi ego principem nostrum aliquando falsis delationibus exasperatum aduersum me, cum etiam aliqua in me indignationis sue quasi spicula contorqueret, mitigatum a uobis, adeo ut in gratiam quandoque iracundia uerteretur, et securitas aliquibus prestaretur commune mecum miscere colloquium, et publice familiaritatis et gratiam copulare. In quo sepe uirtus et ueritas uestre dilectionis emicuit, que non meticolose cedere, sed potius cum mansuetudine et uirtute gaudebat occurrere, et me ad domini mei gratiam reuocare. Gaudebamus inuicem, sibiue par dilectio pari concurrebat occursum, studens communi gratie communibus utilitatibus et obsequiis inseruire, quod, si usque ad hec tempora inter nos fidelibus constat studiis obseruatum, ex hoc nunc me dilig[e]ntius oportet attendere, ut iocundo fidelis perseuerantia consummetur effectum.

His position with the king was weakened by delators Cf. pp. 167, 169 and 173. But Richard has always stood by him

Nostis diu est quia proposueram ad religiosam uitam, propitiantem domino, demigrare, sed me multis obstaculis secularis occupatio detinuit impeditum. Vixi tamen tandem omnia per gratiam dei, et ad ecclesiam Sancti Victoris Parisiensis, relictis omnibus que processum et prouectum meum uidebantur impedire, transiui, Christumque pauperem et nudum, pauper et nudus, ipso docente et trahente, secutus sum, humilitati illius et paupertati cupiens omni desiderio conformari, quantum scilicet michi fuerit, ipsius misericordia preeunte, donatum. Vixi hactenus carni mee, minus de anime salute sollicitus, proponens tamen et desiderans nouissima saltem mea domino consecrare, quod propositum usque ad tempus oportunum diuina misericordia conseruauit, et me debilitatum quidem senectute, toto sanum corpore et omnibus membris, tota etiam animi uirtute conduxit, quoniam in hac spe semper confitebar domino, et in ipsius misericordia respirabam. Benedictus autem deus, qui uiam hanc uobis meo assignauit exemplo, et, quamcunque uobis michique parauerit, ad eundem conducat diuine felicitatis effectum.

He has retired to St Victor, Paris.

fo 67^v.

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